

# The Nation.

VOL. I.—NO. 26.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 28, 1865.

{ SIX DOLLARS PER ANNUM  
{ SINGLE COPIES, 15 CENTS

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Six Dollars per annum, in advance; Six months, Four Dollars. When delivered by Carrier in New York or Brooklyn, Fifty Cents additional.

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## The Week.

SENATOR WILSON has introduced a most important bill for the enforcement of the second clause of the Constitutional Amendment, providing for the protection of all inhabitants of every State without distinction of race or color. If this should be passed, and made operative as regards Chinese and Indians in California and other frontier States, not only would a great deal of outrageous cruelty be prevented, but one most potent promoter of barbarism in new communities, the presence of a large body of outlaws, on whom robbery and murder may be perpetrated not only without punishment, but without even public reprobation, would be removed.

MR. THADDEUS STEVENS made an elaborate speech last Monday in favor of treating the States lately in revolt as Territories, until such time as the rest of the country shall consider it safe to re-admit them to the Union; in favor of which plan Mr. Stevens said much, and said it well. But then his rhetoric is often rather strong meat for babes, as when he compares the Southern States to "the conquered cities of Latium." Upon the sentence at the close, in which he expressed his belief that the late Chief-Justice Taney was condemned for the Dred Scott decision "to everlasting fire," we can hardly trust ourselves to comment. Many people will be ready to believe that a person who uses such language in a debate is hardly in a fit state of mind to legislate either for "the conquered cities of Latium" or of any other state or territory.

MR. SUMNER made last week an attack on the President, which was to say the least in very bad taste. We have commented on it at some length elsewhere. Mr. Sumner, when facing the "lords of the lash," in the Senate, did not like being disposed of by epithets and abuse. Has he lost that love of the propriety of debate for which he was then so great a stickler?

THE announcement of the ratification of the Constitutional Amendment was most important as an official proclamation to the world that slavery had *de jure* as well as *de facto* ceased to exist in the United States. But it would have been very much more welcome to a large portion of the public if it had not contained an acknowledgment of the legal standing in the Union of the States lately in revolt. No harm would have been done by waiting till Congress had fairly passed on this question before issuing the proclamation, for Congress has certainly something to say about it.

MR. WASHBURN's bill to create a new military grade for the benefit of Gen. Grant, suggests many objections that might be urged against it. It is an unnecessary compliment or reward to one who is already *facile princeps*. It involves the promotion of some subordinate who may neither by merit nor popularity deserve to be made Lieutenant-General. It is opposed to public economy, inasmuch as it provides, without sufficient cause, for a salary quite equal to that of the Commander-in-chief. And, lastly, it offers a perpetual temptation to merge the two offices, if only out of parsimony, and convert the General into a President. Without abating one jot of the gratitude or admiration which the great captain has fairly won, we cannot persuade ourselves that the republic has failed to honor him sufficiently in both respects.

MR. DOOLITTLE has introduced a most sensible bill with regard to the qualifications of jurors in the United States courts, abolishing the absurd rule which makes an intelligent and honest man incompetent to try a prisoner if he has, in this age of newspapers, heard of his crime, or expressed any opinion about his guilt.

THOMAS CORWIN died on the 18th. He was one of the best and brightest of that wonderful race of big-brained men whom the West is now contributing to the national politics, and who may be fairly said to constitute a new and most potent agent in shaping the national destinies. They are the first real apostles of democracy the world has seen.

THE *Tribune*, though usually a sober-minded paper, and remarkable for plain, vigorous, and unadorned English, seems to have been completely upset by the news of the ratification of the Constitutional Amendment, and allowed some wild scribe, in an article on the "End of Slavery," to call Christmas "the great anniversary of the human soul," to make slavery "fetters on the commerce and industry of the South," which first "corroded her religion" and then "ate out her manhood like a canker." "Fetters" like these are not often met with. "Slavery," according to the same authority, has "died violently of its own venom"—one of the oddest deaths we ever heard of; and what makes the occurrence all the stranger is, that we are told in the same sentence that "the garment" of the defunct "is pollution." The condition of the South, as described by the writer, is, we confess, to us inexplicable, for he says, "The past is a wall to her and a Golgotha; the future is illimitable and full of life, unless she strives against her own soul to lead a life of oppression in the suicide of virtue." The behavior of "the past" to her in being both "a wall and a Golgotha" is certainly very embarrassing; but there is clearly much for her to look forward to in the future if she avoids that singular "life in the suicide of virtue." Under all the circumstances, however, we confess we hardly know what to advise.

THE Postmaster-General has addressed a circular to the railroad managers, calling their attention to delays which occur on the various lines, owing to the practice of loading passenger and mail trains with freight. We doubt if it will make much impression. Railroad managers are used to mere remonstrances. If the Postmaster-General could and would impose a penalty for all avoidable delays in mail trains, some good might be accomplished; but what chance is there of this?

A REIGN of terror appears to have begun in West Tennessee; at least notices to quit have been served on ex-officers of the Union army, threatening horrors dire in case of refusal. The recipients have called Governor Brownlow's attention to the matter. If anything of this kind

is attempted, there could not be a more effectual remedy than to quarter troops in the district in which the outrage is committed, at the expense of the inhabitants. The incident suggests some dismal forebodings as to the future position of Northern men in the "reconstructed South."

RECONCILIATION of the Emperor of the French and his cousin, the Prince Napoleon, is one of the early probabilities. The prince has written a very friendly letter to M. Rouher about general politics, and saying nothing of that unhappy speech at Ajaccio, in Corsica, which caused all the trouble; and an interchange of affectionate letters has taken place between the Empress and the Princess Clotilde.

A CONVENTION representing France, Belgium, Switzerland, and Italy has met in Paris, to promote a monetary unity between those countries. In all the franc is already the standard piece, but it is now proposed to coin in the different countries francs of the same intrinsic value; and it is said that France will make overtures to other countries to establish the franc as the universal standard. With the United States little difficulty is apprehended, the dollar being already so nearly a piece of five francs; and the adhesion of America once obtained, that of England and other countries of Europe would soon follow, it is expected.

Two French engineers are about to leave Paris for Judea, where they are about to direct the construction of a railway already commenced there. Think of a railway in the Holy Land, says the *Indépendance Belge*; of Bethlehem station, and the Golgotha refreshment rooms!

VERDI is in Paris, and is said to be writing a new opera for the story of the drama, "Marion Delorme." Now it is declared that Madame Ristori has not consented to come to America, as reported, but has, decidedly, refused the most tempting inducements.

THE publication of the second volume of Napoleon's life of Cæsar will probably be delayed until April, the author desiring to make some important modifications according to fresh documents.

THE party in Spain most favorable to the war against Chili is that of absolutist and clerical principles. The complaints of this party (according to the *Journal des Débats*) against the republics of South America are much the same as Lamartine's against the United States. The Chilians are "proud, brutal, demagogic, and, worse than all, ungrateful to Spain, who has taught them to know the true God, and the benefits of civilization."

PRUSSIA continues to bully the smaller German States. Having failed to secure the co-operation of Austria in her purpose of restricting the right of meeting in the free city of Frankfort, it is now declared that she will proceed alone to carry it out, and will act without respect to the Federal Diet.

THE *Gazette of Bavaria* makes official announcement of the early recognition of the kingdom of Italy by the Bavarian Government. Bavaria is moved to this step by the fact that nearly all the European powers, except Austria, have already taken it, and by the wish to protect and foster the numerous commercial and industrial relations of the Bavarian and Italian peoples. It is said that a treaty of commerce between Italy and the Zollverein will soon be concluded.

AUSTRIA seems to enjoy a momentary tranquillity in the possession of Venice, if we may judge from the fact that she is reducing her army in Venetia. This, however, was to be expected as soon as Austria began to feel secure in Hungary.

It is rumored that, after the coronation of the Emperor of Austria as King of Hungary, he will nominate his brother, the Archduke Charles Louis, as Palatine.

WHILE the Federal Council of Switzerland is considering important changes of constitution, the Swedish Diet is discussing projects of reform, which tend to modify the whole internal polity of the realm. The Diet is now composed of four orders, representing the nobility, inheriting their places; the clergy, hereditary legislators in part and in part elective; the burgesses, elective; and the peasants, elective. It is proposed to abolish this system of representation, and reduce the number of houses in the Diet one half. The burgesses and peasants favor the change; the nobles are nearly divided; the clergy is flatly opposed, because the right to clerical representation will be denied by it.

On the 10th of January, the Swiss people will vote for or against the changes proposed in the federal constitution. At Bâle a public meeting of those opposed to the amendment has been held, and has passed a *Bundesverfassungserverfungsvolkswersammlungsbeschluss*, or resolution of the people's assembly rejecting the revision of the federal constitution.

ONE of the questions of public interest which will come before the Hungarian Diet is the emancipation of the Jews in Hungary from the political disabilities under which they now labor. They are nearly a million in number, monopolize the important commerce, and have always been noted for their patriotism and fidelity to the cause of Hungarian nationality.

ACCORDING to the *Nazione*, of Florence, the chief features of the clerical reform in Italy will be the sale of all ecclesiastical property, and the conversion of the proceeds into rents, from which the archbishops, bishops, canons, and priests will receive fixed incomes. The colleges, dioceses, and parishes will be diminished.

A MASONIC lodge in Palermo has excommunicated the Pope! This action was taken in retaliation for the fulminations against freemasonry launched from the Vatican. The brothers of the Palermo lodge declare that "a man named Mastai Ferretti once received the Masonic baptism, and swore love and fraternity to the Masons, and that afterwards this man was created pope and king under the title of Pius IX."

It is rumored, upon fair authority, that Prince Humbert, heir-apparent to the Italian throne, will espouse Maria, Princess of Russia.

THE Turkish Government has responded favorably to the French proposition for assembling a congress at Constantinople to consult as to the best means of preventing the inroads of the cholera hereafter. It is probable, however, that the Dervishes, and the more fanatical of the population, will oppose any sanitary measure which shall interfere with the annual pilgrimage to Mecca.

#### CONGRESS.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 23, 1865.

THE third week of Congress closes with little actual legislation accomplished, but with much light thrown upon the temper and principles of the legislators. It is already apparent that there is a clear and reliable majority of both Houses who will resist any re-admission of the late rebel States to representation in Congress until firm security for the rights of the freedmen is obtained. Much has been said and predicted of the "conservative" temper of the Senate, as a check upon the more pronounced "radicalism" of the House. But there are not so many as ten out of the thirty-eight Union Senators who manifest any tendency to accept anything short of absolute certainty on this point. Enough votes have already been taken to be decisive of this.

Two most important measures have already passed the House. One was the bill of the Committee on Commerce guaranteeing to all railway companies equal rights to carry freight and passengers from one State to another, thus ensuring freedom of transit and destroying such odious monopolies as the Camden and Amboy tax upon through travel. This owes its speedy passage partly to a happy suggestion in the President's message, and partly to the fact that one-half the present



House are new members, upon whom the powerful lobby influence has as yet had no effect. The same measure, now carried by a majority of 42, passed the House last session by the narrow majority of six, and was lost in the Senate by postponement. It will go through this time, however. The other decisive vote had in the House was that adopting a proposed Constitutional Amendment prohibiting the United States, or any State, from paying any debt incurred in aid of rebellion. Although this strikes a hard blow at the State-rights heresy, it passed by a vote of 150 to 11, the majority of Democratic members manifesting, by voting aye, either a hopeful sign of political regeneracy, or else a hopeful respect for the force of public opinion.

Besides these formal acts of legislation, several declaratory resolutions of great significance have passed the House. One of these reaffirms the validity of the test oath and pronounces against its being dispensed with. It passed by the heavy majority of 93. Another, declaring it to be the duty of Congress to "realize and secure the largest attainable liberty to the whole people of the Republic, irrespective of color or race," was adopted by 71 majority. A third, declaring against the power of Congress to extend the elective franchise, was voted down by 65 majority.

The speeches of Messrs. Stevens and Raymond upon reconstruction were neither so comprehensive nor so able as was expected from the previous reputation of the speakers. It is manifest that neither gentleman can claim to be decisively the leader of any considerable portion of the House.

Mr. Sumner's exposé of the outrages perpetrated upon the freedmen and the disloyal spirit that prevails so widely in the South, was chiefly documentary, and, for that reason, the more effective. But the unskillfulness of his exordium, dealing so liberally in hackneyed epithets and slang phrases, was fairly amenable to criticism. The gauntlet is now thrown down between the champions of the "reconstructed" South and those who believe that regeneration should go before reconstruction. To the dictum of the President, "We must trust the South," the firm answer is returned by Mr. Sumner and many others, "The South cannot yet be trusted."

Some of the more advanced in opinion among Congressmen express themselves warmly against the President's action in withdrawing provisional governments and restoring complete civil power into the hands of recently elected rebel officials in several States. That this is done by the President and his Secretary of State pending a solemn official investigation by Congress, through its joint committee of fifteen, into the whole question of the condition and rights of the Southern States, is complained of as a close approach to usurpation. Some members say that Congress might just as well adjourn *sine die* and go home, if this policy is to be the order of the day.

The passage of the bill conferring suffrage upon the colored men in this District is regarded as certain. The "election," yesterday, to take the sense of the white people of the District upon it, resulted in the polling of 6,603 votes, out of a population of 100,000. As the friends of equal suffrage did not vote at all, the result was a foregone conclusion, and will, of course, have no influence upon Congress.

## DIARY.

Monday, Dec. 18, 1865.—In the House, Mr. Baker's resolution declaring that, in restoring the States lately in rebellion, the largest attainable liberty should be secured to the whole people, irrespective of color, was referred to the Joint Committee on reconstruction, the House having previously refused to lay it on the table by 35 yeas to 106 nays. Mr. Washburne offered a bill to repeal the fishing bounties. Referred. A resolution declaring against any extension of the elective franchise by act of the President or of Congress was laid on the table—yeas 111, nays 46. A resolution that the test-oath of July 2, 1862, is of binding force and should in no case be dispensed with, was adopted, the House previously refusing to table it by a vote of 32 to 125. The House passed the Senate resolution to devote the 12th of February to a commemoration of Abraham Lincoln, an address to be delivered before both Houses by E. M. Stanton. Also passed a bill to pay Mrs. Mary Lincoln the sum of \$25,000, previously rejecting an amendment for \$100,000. The Judiciary Committee reported bill extending the right of suffrage in the District of Columbia; made a special order for January 10. A resolution pledging the House to the contraction of the currency and resumption of specie payments as soon as the business interests of the country will permit, was passed—yeas 144, nays 6. A bill to enable loyal citizens in late rebel States to form a constitution and State government preparatory to admission to the Union, was referred to the Committee on Reconstruction.

In the Senate, a bill appropriating half a million dollars for the relief of destitute Indians was passed. House bill, appropriating \$30,000 for refitting the President's house, was passed. A resolution was passed looking to protection of manufactures

in cases where the internal revenue tax exceeds the duty, exchange, and expense of importation on the foreign article.

Dec. 19.—In the Senate a message from the President was read, giving a highly favorable account of the attitude of the late rebel States toward the general Government, and enclosing reports from Carl Schurz and Lieutenant-General Grant of their own observations in the South. Mr. Sumner compared the message to that of President Pierce "whitewashing" the enormities in Kansas, in 1856, whereupon Senators Dixon and Doolittle warmly defended the President from the charge of "whitewashing" the South. The President also submitted the report of Major-General Howard, Commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau.

In the House Mr. Banks offered a resolution as to the expediency of establishing military and naval schools in every State. Referred. The House passed a bill authorizing all railroad companies in the United States to convey freight, passengers, etc., on their way from any State to another State, thus virtually repealing all monopoly of transit granted by existing State laws. The vote was yeas 93, nays 51. A resolution submitting to the States a constitutional amendment, prohibiting the payment, either by the United States or by any one of the States, of debts incurred in aid of rebellion against the United States, was passed, yeas 150, nays 11.

Dec. 20.—In Senate, House bill appropriating \$25,000 for Mrs. Mary Lincoln was passed. Mr. Wilson's bill to maintain the freedom of the inhabitants of the States lately in rebellion was taken up, when Mr. Sumner spoke at length in its favor, declaring the necessity of protection to the freedmen, speedy and effective, at the hands of the federal Government. He quoted numerous testimonies from travellers, etc., in the South to prove that great outrages and abuses exist. Mr. Cowan replied, asserting that Mr. Sumner's authorities were *ex parte* and prejudiced, as well as isolated instances, while the testimony of General Grant and of the President was on the other side. The bill was laid over.

In the House a bill authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to appoint Assistant Assessors of Internal Revenue was passed. Mr. Jenckes offered a bill establishing a Civil Service Commission, whose duty it shall be to examine and judge of the qualifications of candidates for office under the federal Government. Referred. Mr. Banks offered a resolution that the reporters of the official proceedings of the House in the *Congressional Globe* be declared officers of the House, to be appointed or removed only with the Speaker's approval. The House refused to order the previous question on the resolution, yeas 53, nays 74. Credentials of G. H. Kyle, a representative from Arkansas, were referred to the Joint Committee on Reconstruction. Mr. Stevens offered a bill doubling pensions of sufferers by the war, and to pay them, as well as damages done to loyal men, out of the confiscated property of the enemy. Referred. Mr. Stevens presented credentials of H. C. Warmuth, as delegate from the "Territory" of Louisiana, backed by 19,000 voters. Referred to Joint Committee on Reconstruction. The Senate bill for relief of destitute Indians was passed. The Senate concurrent resolution looking to reduction of internal revenue tax on manufactures whenever such tax exceeds the duty, exchange, and freight upon similar articles imported, was adopted. Mr. Stevens's resolution was adopted directing the Superintendent of the Freedmen's Bureau to report whether lands confiscated and allotted to freedmen have been restored to rebel owners, and by what authority; also, under what authority traitors' property vested in the United States under the confiscation act was taken from the United States and bestowed on conquered enemies. The debate of O. Kellogg, representative from New York, was announced, and eulogies pronounced.

Dec. 21.—In the Senate, the following were appointed as members, on the part of the Senate, of the Joint Committee on Reconstruction: Messrs. Fessenden, Grimes, Harris, Howard, Johnson, and Williams. Mr. Sumner presented a petition from 250,000 colored citizens of Tennessee against the admission of Senators and Representatives from that State as now organized. Also, a petition from colored citizens of the District of Columbia, in presenting which Mr. Sumner said, "The whites of the District of Columbia, in respect to the colored people, are no better than squatters, and it is our duty to dispossess them." Mr. Howard presented a petition of 3,740 colored men of South Carolina, asking for the elective franchise. All these petitions were referred to the Joint Committee. Mr. Wilson offered a bill to carry out the second clause of the Constitutional Amendment. It declares void all laws maintaining inequality of civil rights, and entitles all inhabitants of every State, without distinction of color, to make and enforce contracts, sue and give evidence in courts, hold property, and be secured in person and estate. Referred to Judiciary Committee. Mr. Howard's resolution, asking the President to inform the Senate upon what charges Jefferson Davis is imprisoned, and why he is not put upon his trial, was adopted. Mr. Wilson made a speech in defence of his bill annulling the cruel and oppressive laws of late rebel States regarding freedmen. He declared that the President had acted differently from his own views, but had done nothing which should prevent Congress from going straight on, securing the results of the war, and putting their feet on all reaction and conservatism. Adjourned until January 5.

In the House, Mr. Alley offered a resolution looking to the establishment of a national system of telegraphing, to be, like the mails, under exclusive control of the Post-Office Department. Referred. Mr. Voorhees (Dem.) offered resolutions approving the President's message and policy. Postponed to January 9. Mr. Raymond spoke at length in reply to Mr. Stevens's views on reconstruction. He said the late rebel States are and always have been in the Union, and did not forfeit their State existence by rebellion; that the conquest we have achieved is a conquest over the rebellion, and not over the States concerned in it; that he would exact from them all needful guarantees for future loyalty and protection of the freedmen, but would not visit confiscation or other penalties upon them.

Adjourned until Jan. 5.

## THE FREEDMEN.

GEN. HOWARD'S report falls naturally into the four main divisions of the Bureau, and treats of lands, records, finance, and medicine. The number of acres, cultivated and uncultivated, now in possession of the Bureau is 768,590, while the number restored to the original owners after pardon or on proof of loyalty is 88,170. Out of the 1,596 pieces

of town property held at one time, 1,177 have been likewise restored. Only about one five-hundredth of the entire amount of land in the insurrectionary districts has ever been controlled by the Bureau, and if it had been partitioned as was proposed among the freedmen, less than an acre would have been the share of each family. The Commissioner's special visit to the Sea Islands, by order of the President, was unproductive of results, except constituting boards of supervisors, each representing the Government, the planter, and the freedman, for the adjustment of contracts and cases of difficulty. In his report of Nov. 24, Gen. Howard recommended the purchase of the lands embraced in Sherman's S. F. O., No. 16, with a view to their rental and subsequent sale to the freedmen; and in that of Sept. 4 he had suggested that the pardon of rebels worth more than \$20,000 should be on express condition of their giving in fee-simple to each head of family among their former slaves a homestead of from five to ten acres, to be secured against alienation during the lifetime of the grantee.

Under the title of "records" the report narrates what has been done by the Bureau towards encouraging and regulating free labor at the South; describes its own schools and those of the various benevolent associations of the North; and accounts for quartermasters' supplies, transportation, etc. The receipts of the Bureau, from various sources, have amounted to \$907,396, and the expenditures to \$478,363. The available balance on hand on the 1st of November was \$313,796. The estimates for the ensuing year, should the Bureau be continued, are \$11,745,050, of which the largest items are commissary stores, sites for school-houses and asylums, transportation, and clothing.

In discussing the steps which have been taken by the Bureau to secure justice to the freedmen, either by separate courts under its special supervision, or by making the civil courts also freedmen's courts, with the consent of the judges, Gen. Howard favors some provision of law extending United States jurisdiction to the freedmen, while they remain wards of the Government. His course has been, without meddling much with subjects like marriage, pauperism, apprenticeships, etc., to apply the State laws for the whites, as far as practicable, to the blacks. "In fact," he adds, "it is the easiest and best way possible to solve every troublesome problem proposed relating to negroes by the time-honored rules established by wise legislation for other people."

Gen. Howard's résumé of his conclusions is as follows:

He believes in the ultimate success of free labor, but urges that every effort be made by the officers of Government and all others concerned to establish confidence between property-holders and the freedmen, or to restore it where it has been impaired. The prejudices of the former, and their want of acquaintance with any other system of labor than that under which they were brought up, have caused quite as much disturbance as the ignorance and suspicion of the laborer. Equality before the law, time, and education, will remove the present obstacles.

The Bureau, or a similar organization, will have to be continued in order—

First, to settle its land business, and keep the national pledges to lessees and contractors.

Secondly, to make the freedom of the blacks an undisputed fact:

"Some guarantee beyond any existing ordinance in any State I visited is essential to secure the actual and continuous protection of life and property to the freedmen. Where legislation is constrained, as it now is in the Southern States, for the most part, from several causes, there is danger of the statute law being in advance of public sentiment, so that where there is the most liberality, ill consequences would be likely to result, if Government protection should be immediately withdrawn."

Thirdly, to promote mutual confidence between planters and laborers, as has already been extensively done through the agency of the Bureau.

Fourthly, to ensure the education of the negroes, to which the majority of the white people are utterly opposed.

Fifthly, to prevent a panic among the freedmen, likely to arise in case the Bureau is discontinued.

Sixthly, to care for the orphan, the aged, and the infirm and sick.

Seventhly, to effect a re-distribution of the colored population, now unnaturally collected in certain localities.

Eighthly, to aid the white refugees through the winter.

Ninthly, to keep Congress and the Executive accurately and constantly informed of the condition of the South.

Tenthly, to encourage immigration thither, and to sustain the Northern men already there who stand in fear of their safety.

The Commissioner is content with the present organization of the Bureau, except in the matter of civil courts and the employment of civil agencies. Some legislation will be needed to provide for the helpless, who no longer have any claim on the support of their masters, and whose natural protectors it would be difficult to determine, owing to the exceeding looseness of the marriage relation. Education for whites and blacks should be placed on a firmer basis than it now is, by using the funds raised during the war, under the Treasury laws, for the benefit of the freedmen to purchase school-sites and buildings, until the people shall be able to re-purchase them. Joint companies ought to be approved which seek to aid the blacks and poor whites in the rental, purchase, and settlement of land. "The rights of the freedmen to rent and purchase real property should be guaranteed to them beyond question." In case the Bureau is continued, its powers and domain ought to be explicitly defined, and the law by which its existence is now limited to one year after the close of the war be thoroughly remodelled.

—Gen. Fullerton's report of his administration of freedmen's affairs in Louisiana will attract much attention. It is in the nature of a defence against the charges of unfriendly, not to say unfeeling and hostile action, which were laid at his door by many at the North. Premising that he found there had been gross mismanagement in the department to which he had been ordered, in consequence of an undue partiality for the freedmen, the general states that the key of his entire conduct is his resolve to obliterate distinctions of color, and to bring both white and black, as far as possible, under the same laws and civil regulations. He found the negroes refusing to work at a critical season, when there was great demand for their labor, under the delusion that land was to be given them by the Government. Mr. Conway's circular to the contrary had little effect, and the general followed it up with one plainer spoken, which was respected. The vagrant law of the State was directed to be enforced in New Orleans against colored idlers, but its application was revoked when it appeared to have been abused. Several colonies which were badly governed and dependent were concentrated in one with the necessary reforms. A *pseudo* orphan asylum was constrained to dissolve itself. The special freedmen's courts were abolished, because, by State law, all free persons may testify in the State courts. The provost-marshal and other agents of the Bureau were to attend the trial of freedmen, and protect their rights as witnesses. Gen. Fullerton thinks that the freedmen of Louisiana are in a better condition than those of any other State. No able-bodied person need be unemployed, and the disposition of the whites toward them is rapidly improving. Violence is not nearly so frequent as has been represented.

## Minor Topics.

THE objective tendencies of our age and country now and then receive amusing illustrations from popular criticism. The last of these has been educed by the re-publication of Swinburne's "Atalanta," and is neither more nor less than an attempt to bring poetry to the practical standard of science, or generalship, or public life. Several discriminating critiques assume that Mr. S. must "get rid of his old classical rubbish" before he can do justice to himself or his readers; and one, on the appearance of "Chastelard," congratulates him upon having taken a step nearer to the present day, as if the treatment of his subjects must grow better in proportion as the subjects themselves grow more modern.

In one sense this is natural enough, for the poet was evidently not speaking to the sagacious in the case of his critics. Yet it is singular, too, that they could talk so with the immense evidence before their eyes how utterly incompetent proximity (even when combined with grandeur) of subject is to furnish poetic inspiration. To say that our recent war, whether considered in its military, its moral, or its political aspect, was one of the grandest series of events the world ever wit-



nessed, is but the merest truism. How much of the "numerous verse" called forth by the occasion has even a remote chance of surviving?

Abroad we find a similar result—or want of result. What lyre did the Crimean war awaken? Of France nothing need be said, for her only real poet is in exile, and her verses, like her pictures, are made to order for the glory of the Emperor and his myrmidons; but England had Tennyson. And Tennyson produced the "Charge of the Six Hundred," one of his least satisfactory efforts. Such parts of "Maud" as had reference to the war were notoriously the worst, while the beauties of that unequal poem celebrate the common accidents of humanity, the joy of meeting a living love, the grief of missing a dead love. But do not contemporary circumstances call forth the poet's genius into activity? Certainly, and it is well worth noting how commonplace, ordinary, trivial—yea, low—these circumstances sometimes are. Burns, riding home from market, stops at an inn and amuses himself with the bar-maid. Multitudes of men riding home have stopped at inns to flirt with bar-maids; probably not a few had flirted with that identical one. Burns quits his Anna to write a delicious love-song. Shelley goes out into the fields and hears a bird sing. How many hundreds and thousands of Englishmen had walked in the fields and heard birds sing! Shelley goes home and composes the most magnificent lyric in the language.

To blame Swinburne for writing about old Greeks is as wise as to blame Shelley for writing about a small bird. Poetry is eminently subjective. The poet looks into his heart and writes. It is because he is a poet, a man with a creative imagination, that small things appear large to him and distant things near, and common things take uncommon aspects. Any other appreciation or explanation of him must end in infinite rubbish. Why did not Goethe write patriotic poems like Körner, instead of laying himself out on all manner of paganism? Because he was Goethe and not Körner; and we may well suspect that, had he undertaken Körner's work instead of his own, he would not have made so much of it. Why does not Swinburne write about Garibaldi and Florence Nightingale instead of Atalanta and Meleager? Because the bent of his genius did not go that way. Why did not our own Longfellow compose war-songs like the Lelands, instead of dipping into the dry bones of Scandinavia? We must still give the same answer; we cannot get behind it; it is like asking *quare opium facit dormire*, or why John is John and not Peter.

Of course this holds good of true poets only, not of mere versifiers. Probably every man with a fair education, and a certain amount of taste, can hammer out very passable verses; indeed, we may almost say that verse-making is a part of liberal education, like speech-making for men and piano-playing for women. And such a man will be moved to write verse by striking contemporary events, just as he is moved to write prose—a newspaper article, for instance. But we are speaking of real poets.

REV. MR. FREDERICK THEODORE WINKELMAN, professor of languages in a New Jersey institution of learning, died the other day, leaving effects of which the examination accounted for the mysterious disappearance of the jewelry, watches, and best clothes of many of the pupils. Pawn-tickets for most of these things were found among the professor's papers, and proof in his own handwriting that he had purloined them. In fact, he kept a diary, in which he set down, with great minuteness, the dates and circumstances of the thefts committed, and stated what disposition he had made of his prey in each case. By means of this journal the police were able to go to the pawnbrokers' and recover part of the stolen goods.

Altogether, Prof. Winkelman seems to have been a remarkable man, not only in the constitution of mind which enabled him to commit thefts and conceal them, for that is common enough; but in the peculiar candor and freedom with which he wrote, from day to day, the story of his rascalities. No doubt there must have been a kind of terrible satisfaction to him in contemplation of the fact that such an infamous reprobate as he could so skilfully present himself to the world as never to provoke suspicion, and we can fancy the learned professor taking an almost objective interest in his rogueries, and enjoying the study of a character so anomalous as his own. The perusal of the occurrences recounted in his diary might have had for him the flavor and

excitement of a Spanish picaresque novel. Indeed, is not the spectacle delicious? A Lutheran minister of the Gospel, employed to teach the humanities in a college, filches the trinkets and fine clothes of the boys and pawns them, continuing in this course unsuspected for a year, and yet keeping about him, in writing, the means of instant discovery and disgrace! There is a fine spirit of adventure in the thing, and, on the whole, we cannot wonder that it should have amused the reverend professor. After stealing certain waistcoats and watches, he writes in his journal: "They have sent a policeman to search for the watches; he will find them: oh yes—perhaps!" At another time he records: "Half-past nine o'clock P. M., drank a bottle of wine;" adding, with exquisite satisfaction, "stole it!" Here is all the lawless delight for the Rev. Mr. Winkelman which the minister in the "Scarlet Letter" pictured to himself when tempted to pop into the ear of the poor old dame, desiring to talk with him about heaven, some atheistic blasphemy, or when counselled by the Evil One to rap out a wild seafaring oath in the presence of the godly Puritan children. Is it not human to exult in a fine misdeed for a while?

Yet, in writing a diary, it must have required a vast degree of moral force to set down the facts which Mr. Winkelman states so simply and nakedly; for every one who has attempted to keep one of those foolish and lying records of his daily life knows how difficult it is to tell the truth in them. The wonder is that Mr. Winkelman, instead of saying, on such a night, "Drank a bottle of wine; stole it," should not have written: "Reflected, after drinking a bottle of wine, upon my life since this night last year, and regretted that but slight improvement had taken place in my character. (*Mem.*—To take some religious newspaper.) The wine which I found in the cellar was, doubtless, placed there, with a number of other bottles, for my use by the good principal of the institute. Read a chapter in the 'History of the Reformation.'" Instead of the fact concerning the watches and waistcoats as he has set it down, it is almost superhumanly strange that he did not put it: "They tell me that the police are looking for the time-pieces which the former owners evidently intended me to have regulated at the pawnbroker's. I most earnestly hope that no innocent person will be suspected of stealing these watches."

Few men, indeed, can be expected to arrive at Winkelman's terrible sincerity. We cannot suppose that a skilful financier will ever come to jot down in his note-book: "Sold Jones those worthless Honolulu oil-shares; a most shameful swindle;" or that a merchant shall record: "Got rid of those moth-eaten upholstery goods at twice their original cost. Transaction worse than a highway robbery." A capitalist will hardly write, "Grinding the faces of the poor all day;" nor a physician, "Committed a horrible piece of malpractice on Smith in setting his leg. He thinks he may be able to use it; oh, I wish him luck of it!" Suppose a young lady described what base artifices she used to wheedle her papa out of money; or that a wife should betray to her diary the awful secret of the stratagems she used to make her husband buy her a fifty-dollar bonnet! Suppose that a clergyman should confess how slightly his Sunday's sermon differed from one of Blair's; or that a journalist should keep a diary testifying to his consciousness of writing the vilest rubbish every day; or that a politician should daily record his knowledge that he was a ridiculous humbug!

Clearly, the whole thing is impossible, and we do not know that so great truthfulness as the Professor Winkelman's is even desirable. Society is held together by illusions which men cannot safely dispel. A certain amount of self-deception and deception of others seems to be the normal condition. Besides, it is not by any means certain that all of us could have the fortitude to contemplate such witness to our daily meanness and wickedness as Professor Winkelman kept about him. An unwritten conscience is bad enough, heaven knows, and we want no staring black and white one, lest some weak brother be maddened by the history of his iniquity and go about seeking to assuage his pain by the accusation of others. We shudder to think, for example, of Robinson collaring Brown on Broadway, and yelling at him: "Brown, you scoundrel, I am the vilest thief and liar on the face of the earth, and so are you, sir, and so are all these miserable swindlers and back-biters and slanderers about us!"

Consider the effect of such a proclamation in such a place! We should all fall upon Brown and tear him to pieces.

*Articles on any of the subjects usually discussed in this journal will be received from any quarter. If used, they will be liberally paid for; if rejected, they will be returned to the writers on the receipt of the requisite amount of postage stamps.*

*All Communications which pertain to the literary management of THE NATION should be addressed to the Editor.*

### IS THE PRESIDENT MISTAKEN ?

THE President, in his message of Tuesday week, assured the nation that in nearly all of the lately rebel States "measures have been adopted, or are now pending, to confer upon the freedmen the privileges which are essential to their comfort, protection, and security." He also testified to the gradual development of systems "under which the freedman will receive the protection to which he is justly entitled, and by means of his labor make himself a useful and independent member of the community in which he has his home." General Howard, on the contrary, informs the Secretary of War that "some guarantee, beyond any existing ordinance in any State he has visited, is essential to secure the actual and continuous protection of life and property to the freedmen."

This rose-colored view from the White House has been applauded and defended by all newspapers and politicians whose business it is to sneeze when the President takes snuff. They have reminded his critics, with a show of indignation, that he knows all the facts, and entertains presumptively the only correct opinion about the condition of the South. Of course, having seconded his plan of reconstruction, they are bound to see nothing but the most admirable results achieved by it. Of course they partake of the confidence with which civil government has been completely restored to Alabama, Georgia, and South Carolina. But men who are not interested in the success of a personal experiment, nor concerned to apologize for every act of the Administration, and are able to balance testimony which is not wholly confined to official channels, will fail to agree with Mr. Johnson in what they will readily admit to be his sincere conviction. The point at issue is not whether progress has not been made in the re-adjustment of society at the South—whether things in that quarter are not better than they were at Johnston's surrender—but whether there exists that laudable desire to be loyal and law-abiding which the President discerns, to a degree which makes it safe for white and black to withdraw the military protectorate from the States; whether "disorders" there are "occasional" and "local," and due to "the demoralizing effects of the war," or whether they belong to the spirit of slavery and rebellion not yet exorcised amongst any considerable part of the population. Though the President is, in theory, the best-informed man in the country, the public, in deciding this question, will attach greater weight to the conclusions of Generals Howard and Grant, who concur in remonstrating against the proposed withdrawal of troops, if only for the sake of the Southerners themselves. The public will even trust its own intelligence, derived from ten thousand private, yet not therefore despicable sources, and will prefer it inevitably to the asseverations of the score or two of pilgrims to Washington in whom the President may be supposed to confide. Gov. Perry's word, for example, in what relates to the present feeling of his fellow-citizens, will be held, deservedly, inferior to that of a commercial travelling agent. Newspaper correspondence excepted, the public are far more likely than the President to receive information that is not "cooked;" and, if they have not all the facts, it is safe to say that they have enough to arrive at a tolerably correct judgment in the premises.

We have only to look at a few of the codes for the freedmen adopted or proposed at the South—codes in themselves odious, because perpetuating an iniquitous civil and social distinction—to differ very materially from the President in his judgment of them. In North Carolina, the Legislature has just adjourned without so much as a bill having been presented for the modification of the State code in favor of the freedmen; and on the same day we were informed by telegraph that two negroes were sentenced to be sold into servitude for larceny, for a period not exceeding seven years! "This sentence," it is naively added, "is agreeable to the laws of the State in relation to freedmen before the war." But it is far from agreeable to the Constitutional Amendment which the State had already ratified, and which was cer-

tain to become law in a period abundantly short of seven years. With this instance may be fitly collated two similar cases disposed of in the mayor's court at Wilmington, Delaware, on the 12th of October; and, still more recently, the selling of two colored girls in Maryland for two years within the State, and a colored woman for six months out of it.

South Carolina has furnished some of the most atrocious cruelties to the list of those perpetrated upon the freedmen. Her Legislature passed a code for this class by which, when employed, they are to be styled "servants," and their employers "masters." A master "may moderately correct a servant under eighteen years of age;" but if older, the judge may order the sheriff to perform the whipping. Strict regulations for the daily conduct, polite behavior, and locomotion of servants are enacted. The system of written passes is restored. It shall be an infamous crime to hire or harbor servants without their masters' consent. No person of color shall earn his living at a trade, or keep a store, without a license from the district court. A black man or woman convicted before a justice of failing to support self or children, shall be sold to the prosecutor on terms agreed upon by the latter and the magistrate.

Similar provisions about enticing servants are contained in bills introduced in the Alabama Legislature on the 1st inst. It is also provided that, in cases where white persons lease or rent their lands to freedmen, the lessors shall be liable for taxes assessed upon the freedmen, and in all respects the former be responsible for the latter as a principal for his agent. The same body have passed a very stringent vagrant law, establishing houses of correction in every town, where chain-gangs, "reasonable correction," and solitary confinement on bread and water are in order. In case of a second offence, thirty-nine lashes may be visited by a magistrate on the offender. Vagrants may also be hired out for a month for the benefit of the county treasury. Color is not specified in this statute, but must be inferred.

It is needless to cite Mississippi, since the President himself has set aside her legislation by which, among other provisions, the freedmen were absolutely prohibited from holding real estate. She competes with South Carolina in barbarity to the emancipated blacks, and shares with every other Southern State in refusing to admit them to her courts on even terms with the whites.

Such are some of the open manifestations of the mood of "our Southern brethren" in circumstances when they would have been tempted to make a show at least of complete acquiescence in the will of their magnanimous conqueror. If the President sees in them a ripeness for democratic self-government and a social change conferring "essential privileges" upon colored natives, with "protection" to them and to white immigrants, whether capitalists or laborers, we do not. If these disgraceful statutes were more specious than they are—nay, if they both looked fairer and were of fairer intent—we should still be incredulous. There would still remain, as Gen. Howard has pointed out, the "danger of the statute law being in advance of public sentiment," and we should still insist on delay in political rehabilitation.

### MR. SUMNER ON "WHITEWASHING."

No explanation that can be found in any dictionary, or offered by Mr. Sumner himself, would render the accusation of "whitewashing" which he brought against the President anything but a charge of moral turpitude. To "whitewash" anything is to cover up dark and dirty places with a thin covering of white, and anybody who does this is unquestionably guilty of a certain kind of deceit, the precise nature of which, however, is to be determined by the result. Ordinary whitewashing of walls, though it undoubtedly involves making things seem clean which are not clean in reality, still wards off disease and delights the eye. But when one "whitewashes" a man, or a cause, or a state of things, he simply endeavors by falsehood or misrepresentation to make impurity seem pure, dishonesty seem honest, violence seem peaceful. Anybody who does this does an essentially base thing, and the results of his baseness are not confined to the particular case in which it is displayed, but are felt through the whole field of morals by confusing men's notions of right and wrong. And yet this is the very thing Mr. Sumner has accused Mr. Johnson of doing. He has asserted,



in other words, that Mr. Johnson, knowing well that order was not restored at the South, that the desire for peace and tranquillity did not exist, has declared that they do; that being very well assured that there was no general desire at the South to submit to the laws, has asserted that there was; that he has sought to deceive the Senate and the Northern public upon a matter of such vital moment that it would be difficult to express in words the consequences that may possibly flow from any mistake that may be made in dealing with it.

There is certainly nothing in Mr. Johnson's antecedents to justify anything so unseemly as Mr. Sumner's outburst—for unseemly it was. If there be anything for which the President has acquired an honorable reputation, it is for his truthfulness. He owes almost all the hold he has upon public esteem to the singular frankness and candor with which he has been in the habit of speaking his mind. And what gives this virtue of his a new lustre is, that he has distinguished himself in almost as great a degree as Mr. Sumner himself by speaking his mind before hostile audiences. His career ever since 1860 has certainly not been that of a popularity-hunter. He said disagreeable things, and nothing but disagreeable things, in the Senate in 1860, and down to 1864 led a life in Tennessee which no man would think of leading to whom the expression of his honest convictions was not dearer than all else in life. The idea of a Southern hypocrite playing the loyalist in Tennessee during the first two years of the war is simply ridiculous. And Mr. Johnson's sincerity and truthfulness since his accession to the presidency have been fully as remarkable as before. There have been several things in his policy towards the South open, in our opinion, to exception, but not for any want of good faith revealed in them. In so far as we have taken the liberty of finding fault, it has not been for deceiving, but for being too readily deceived; not for moral but for mental obliquity; not for loving crooked ways, but for sometimes, through what we considered want of perception, getting off the right track. When Mr. Sumner rises in his place in the Senate, therefore, to accuse him of deceit, he is guilty of something worse than indecorum.

How men like Mr. Sumner come to make slapdash charges of this kind, and to treat everybody who differs from them as to the means of reconstruction as morally base, seems to us tolerably clear. During the anti-slavery struggle, the issues involved were almost all moral issues. It was impossible to resolve the question of the abolition or preservation of slavery into a political question simply. There was, no matter what anybody may say, moral guilt in slaveholding, and the slaveholders knew it. The doctrine of the innocence of those who, having been "brought up" to slaveholding, did not see it as Northerners saw it, would convert Thugs into pious and respectable oddities. Upon this point nobody who believes that there is a standard of right and wrong in the world can feel much doubt.

The anti-slavery men were, therefore, quite justified in considering their political opponents as deserving of moral censure, and in looking on the warfare they carried on at the polls or elsewhere as a moral warfare, and their enemies as offenders against the moral law. But when they attempt, as Mr. Sumner and others clearly do, to treat the efforts which are now being made to secure the freedmen in the enjoyment of their rights at the South as simply a continuance in all its incidents of the struggle to secure their emancipation, they are apt not only to do gross injustice to others, but to stultify themselves. The whole question of the reconstruction of society at the South is, as far at least as members of the Republican party are concerned, a question of expediency. All are agreed as to the objects in view. We doubt if there are many to be found in its ranks who do not desire peace and order at the South, and who are not anxious to see the freedman secured in the enjoyment of everything which can conduce to his happiness and moral and mental development. But as to the means of accomplishing these results there is a great variety of opinions; and we make bold to say that there is not one of them which a man may not hold, and be just as honest as Mr. Sumner or Mr. Thaddeus Stevens. A perfectly upright citizen may believe that wholesale confiscation will not subserve to the happiness of either white or colored men at the South. As pure patriots and as good Christians as ever stood upon a platform may, without any loss of purity, hold, with General Grant, that the time has come to restore civil government at the South; and others just as

righteous and high-minded may be of opinion that negro suffrage will have to come from the States and not from the general Government; nay, a man may be in every way fit company for the best in the land, and not believe that negro suffrage would be a good thing at all for either blacks or whites. The attempt to make these questions moral questions will, like many other attempts of the same kind, simply injure the cause it is intended to serve, and, while damaging morals, will not help politics.

What makes Mr. Sumner's attitude all the more inexcusable is the variety and multiplicity of the ways in which Mr. Johnson's views on reconstruction may be accounted for without impeaching his honesty. He may, for instance, be as sanguine as Mr. Sumner is desponding. He may have a vast quantity of information regarding Southern temper which Mr. Sumner does not possess, and it may be of a more varied character, or, let us add, he may have much less skill in sifting it. In short, there are a score of ways of accounting for the late message without accusing the writer of dishonesty, and it seems to us that a very ordinary estimate of the force of language, and of the respect due to the personal character even of enemies, ought to be sufficient to save far humbler people than Mr. Johnson from being charged with deceit even by persons as high placed as Mr. Sumner.

#### THE WEST POINT MILITARY ACADEMY.

MR. BANKS has carried a resolution for a fresh enquiry into the system of education pursued at our naval and military schools, and the Committee on Military Affairs is charged with the duty as regards West Point. Before the enquiry commences, we wish once more to say an earnest word on this subject to all concerned, and to call the attention both of the committee and the public to certain defects in the school which are patent, some of which the Visitors' last report has touched upon, and all of which ought to be remedied if the school is really meant to be kept up.

Its history has been a strange one. While almost everything else in this country has changed, it has stood the one thing stable. What Colonel Thayer, its real founder, made it fifty years ago, it has since remained. Nor are its merits or defects ever the subject of honest, intelligent criticism. It is rarely spoken of without unqualified blame or unqualified praise. Fiercely and blindly assailed by some, it is as fiercely and blindly defended by others. The failure of McClellan, of Buell, and of a host of subordinates, has never been able to shake the faith of its supporters that every one it educates must necessarily be a master of the art of war. Nor, on the other hand, has all the lustre shed upon it by the successes of Grant and Sherman and Sheridan shaken the conviction of its opponents that it is a useless and expensive burden upon the national treasury. At the beginning of the rebellion, the one side was grievously distressed because some of the graduates went over to the South; the other seemed as greatly distressed because all of them did not go the same way.

It is not the purpose of this article to discuss the effect of West Point training upon the management of our military affairs; or whether the exclusive spirit nurtured by it, which has practically turned the army into a close corporation, has been productive of more good than evil. Its influence controls all the higher appointments in the service; and since this is so, it is desirable to make the best of it by making the school as perfect as possible. There now exist in it grave defects, which must be reformed altogether before it can truly accomplish the objects for which it was founded. These defects exist in the qualifications required for entrance, the system of instruction, and the method of admission.

The first great defect in the management of the Military Academy is the lowness of the standard of qualifications required for admission.

It is a common opinion that West Point is the great mathematical and engineering school of this continent. The assertion is constantly made by the graduates of the Military Academy themselves, and is constantly re-echoed by men everywhere who hardly know enough of mathematics to tell the difference between the cube and the cube root of a quantity. In extent and thoroughness of instruction it ought certainly to have no superior. Its course is longer than that of most scientific schools. It is not dependent upon pupils for support. Its

wants are freely and fully supplied by a generous people. Entrance into it is regarded as a privilege. It can and does enforce a discipline which cannot be enforced anywhere else. And in certain special branches of study it is unrivalled; for it has no competitor not laboring under insurmountable disadvantages. But in many others, equally important, the lowness of the standard of admission places it behind some of the most unpretending scientific schools of this country. No clearer idea can be given of the absurdity of the present system and the mischief springing from it, than by a comparison of the Military Academy, on this very point, with either Yale or Harvard, the two leading classical institutions of the United States.

West Point requires of its candidates for admission a knowledge of reading, writing, of the four ground rules of arithmetic, vulgar and decimal fractions, and proportion. This standard was fixed by the Act of 1812, and has never since been changed. An examination upon such a list of studies might, perhaps, have been deemed formidable in the ninth century; in the nineteenth it bears a close resemblance to a farce. The actual number rejected each year rarely exceeds half a dozen; the wonder is how any one, not a natural born fool, can manage to be rejected at all.

Yale requires of its candidates for admission a knowledge of the Greek and Latin languages, which demands at the very least two years of thorough, special, and almost exclusive preparation; in addition to this, a knowledge of English grammar, geography, arithmetic, algebra as far as quadratic equations, and the first two books of geometry. A large number are thrown out every year.

At West Point the candidate must be over sixteen years of age and under twenty-one. The average age of entrance is about eighteen. At Yale the candidate must be over fourteen years of age. The average age of entrance is about seventeen.

The consequence of this low standard of preparation required for the course pursued at the Military Academy is that the first year there is taken up with learning what any industrious, intelligent school-boy knows before reaching the age of admission. The great evil is that, with the exceptions of the tactics and military discipline, those special studies which West Point was founded to teach are crowded into the latter half of the course, and, of necessity, are rapidly hurried over, if not omitted altogether. Yale and Harvard, which are, professedly, classical schools, which devote to mathematics a bare one-third of the time, nevertheless carry their students as far in it the first two years as the professedly mathematical school of West Point. This, it is to be remembered, is in the undergraduate course. But in the special post-graduate schools attached to both of those institutions, the scientific course is carried to an extent that would make a cadet just about to graduate stare and gasp. In fact, the assertion so constantly made of the superior mathematical and engineering education furnished by the Military Academy is the merest twaddle. It is sometimes made by persons who know something about other institutions and nothing about West Point; more frequently by persons who know something of West Point and nothing at all of other institutions; and more frequently still by persons who know nothing of mathematical or scientific education at all.

The Board of Visitors for this year recommend that the standard of admission be raised by the addition of English grammar, descriptive geography, and the history of the United States. The real reform demanded is to make the preparatory studies required for admission at least as high as at other scientific schools. These are, in most, arithmetic, algebra, geometry, and trigonometry. Even to these others should be added, if an acquaintance with some modern language beside the English is not exacted.

The only defence for the present standard of admission is, that a higher one will have the tendency to shut out the children of the poor. This might be an argument, were the Military Academy an almshouse; but even then it would be a worthless one. The literary institutions of our country not only admit their pupils younger, but examine applicants in studies which require years of special preparation for their mastery. Yet there never has been any complaint that the standard of previously acquired knowledge is so high as to exclude the sons of men belonging to the lowest class in life. In fact, the majority of stu-

dents in our colleges are the children of men in moderate, and many of them the children of men in indigent, circumstances. There is no young man in this country so poor, so friendless, that, if honestly desirous of gaining an education, he cannot master the studies required for entrance into any institution. Better, indeed, that he should wait one year or two years for admission than that the national military school should turn its attention from its special work to give him the elements of a common-school education. Nor even would the occasional rejection of a young man, whose poverty of preparation has arisen from his poverty of pecuniary resources, be any real objection to the reform. The Military Academy was not founded as a grand beneficiary institution for the poor of the United States, but to train first-class officers for the United States army.

The second reform demanded is a more thorough and extensive study of language in the system of instruction pursued.

In the examinations of this year the Board of Visitors remark particularly the want of distinctness and precision of expression, and the abundance of gross errors in grammar and pronunciation. They have not been the first to notice this. Censure on this point has been the one thing which has relieved the general monotonous adulation of these reports. That of 1859 dwells upon the matter with equal grief, surprise, and simplicity. "As stated by former committees," says that report, "there still remain great defects in elocution. A clear and distinct enunciation of well-chosen words, added to the knowledge the cadets now have of the subjects they study, would add more to the reputation of the institution than anything we can now suggest. Nothing is more painful than to see a young man who understands his subject well undertake to demonstrate with his lips almost sealed, and his words unfitly chosen. While the professors and instructors generally are good elocutionists, and express themselves clearly, it increases our surprise that the pupils should be so defective in this respect."

It need not have surprised the committee, had they borne in mind the fact that power of expression is the direct result of the training given by the study of language. The experience of the Military Academy only adds one more proof to the truth of the saying of Goethe, that "he who knows not other tongues, knows nothing of his own."

Unfortunately, the effects of this neglect of the study of language do not confine themselves to the cadets while at the Military Academy. The officers of our army, especially those in high positions, are obliged to write much. The productions of most of them, both before and during the late war, have added no reputation to the service or to the school at which they were educated. So long as they confine themselves to the bare statement of facts and opinions, they are usually respectable, if eminently dry and dull. But when they leave the level ground of simple narration, and venture on more ambitious movements, their failure is conspicuous. With few exceptions, their productions will scarcely stand the fire of five minutes' criticism.

French and Spanish are down in the course at West Point, but the latter is not studied until the last year. German, the language of some of the greatest masters of the art of war, has no professorship there. During the first year English is taught at; it can hardly be said to be taught. Latin and Greek are necessarily excluded from a school where general culture is not so much aimed at as excellence in special departments of knowledge. But there is no reason why the critical study of the tongues named, and more especially of English, should not be carried on so as to secure most of the advantages springing from classical education. But a parrot-like repetition of phrases is not a study in this sense of French or Spanish, nor recitations in Sargent's "Elocution" and Blair's "Rhetoric" a study of English. The whole course should be reformed altogether, for the only real education in the use of their mother tongue the officers of our army now gain at the Military Academy is in the line of profanity.

But the crowning folly, by means of which laborious mediocrity has so long been enabled to usurp the control of our army, lies in the system by which students gain admission to West Point.

By the act of March 1, 1843, the custom hitherto prevailing of appointing one cadet from each Congressional district was made a law. Whenever a vacancy occurs, the representative from the district nom-



inates the candidate for admission, and his nomination is equivalent to an appointment. No other country of Christendom, however despotic, would tolerate for a moment a system so essentially undemocratic, so admirably fitted to defeat the object for which a military establishment exists. No other country, indeed, could afford to tolerate such a system. It is the perfection of the art of "how not to do it."

The idea that the military talent of the country exists in the ratio of one man to a Congressional district merits a patent for novelty. Under the present system, even if the right person were always selected, the objection to it would be no whit removed. But this is notoriously not the case. It is a well-known fact that, nine times out of ten, the appointment is controlled by political influences solely. And were it not, were the representative honestly desirous of selecting the best man, equally in nine cases out of ten he would be unable to do it. He has not the time, the opportunity, and, too often, not the ability to make the investigation required. As it is now, a young man with a natural taste for military life and pursuits has to encounter, in order to gain a military education, a series of unnecessary difficulties, any one of which may, perhaps, be easily surmounted, but which in the aggregate are appalling. He must, in the first place, live in a district where there happens to be a vacancy. In the second place, he must be of the same political faith as the representative. In the third place, he must be a friend of the representative or the friend of his friends. In the fourth place, there must be no competitor the political influence of whose friends the representative dare not disregard. To crown all, if he surmounts these and secures his education and his position in the army, he must, under our system, wait for every imbecile above him to be removed by death or resignation before he can hope to rise in his profession. In this manner ambitious mediocrity has shaped the legislation of the country so as most effectually to shut the avenues to military distinction from men of ability, and open them to those only possessed of political influence.

It is a strange fact that while many professional soldiers admit all the evils of the present system, they declare themselves unable to see any remedy. This only shows more clearly what has been long evident to many, that, whatever reforms are made in the management of our military affairs, they will never spring from within.

The remedy is plain. Follow the example of all the literary and scientific schools of the country. Abolish the whole system of appointments. Throw open the Military Academy to every young man desirous of entering it, with such restrictions as common sense and experience dictate. Make the examination for admission so rigid as to exclude all above a certain number. A military education will then be open to every young man of military tastes without the tedious and disgusting process of currying favor with a political representative. The scientific and engineering talent of the country will be attracted to the Academy, and will not be repelled, as now, by lack of official patronage. The standard of admission can then be so raised as to keep the number of applicants within bounds. As a necessary consequence of this addition to the stock of previously acquired knowledge, a far greater amount of time can be devoted to those important special branches which are now but superficially studied.

#### YMIR.\*

UNDER the brilliant Arctic morn  
In clouds and mist the god was born.  
Forth from his icy citadel  
Swifter than fleet young Ariel—  
Where, near the luminous polar fires,  
Ice-cities lift their prismatic spires,  
Far as, with fierce Berserker wrath,  
The North Wind cuts his frozen path—  
Wild with mad frolic, looking back  
Along his shining, silvery track,  
To cot and palace just the same  
With cunningest device he came.  
Hearing his song about the house,  
The sleepers from their dreams arouse:

\* The Scandinavian Frost God.

"I walk the paveless roads of blue,  
My art is old, yet ever new;  
I revel in the Northern snows,  
I ride the North Wind where he goes;  
Formed by my word in Arctic skies,  
The wondrous realms of Fairy rise.  
The hills I robe in garments fair,  
My steps I print upon the air;  
I wreath with rime the rocky dells,  
Build palaces of icicles;  
With feathered lace I glint the snow,  
The broad fields glisten where I go,  
And, kissed by me, the rainbowed trees  
Mate with the gold Hesperides.

"Lonely with leisure, through long Junes  
I studied Odin's mystic runes;  
So, in the silent hush of night,  
Upon the window-pane I write,  
In cabalistic syllables,  
About the giant Loki's spells;  
How Thor his hammer lost and found;  
Of Jotunheim's enchanted ground;  
What bitter, ceaseless tears were shed  
When the dark news through Asgard sped—  
'Balder, the beautiful, is dead!'

"But, borrowing Nature's subtle speech,  
My words far deeper meanings teach.  
Chiefly I show the law that lurks  
Within the form whereby she works;  
How flowers and rocks divided are  
Into the crystal or its star.  
I tell by quaint and curious signs  
The mystery of the growth of pines;  
What threads of gossamer it takes  
To weave the leafy ferns and brakes,  
More delicate, held to the sun,  
Than those which skilled Arachne spun."

Soft souged the wind, the morning broke,  
The sleepers from their dreams awoke.  
They see through purple gleams of light  
The marvellous magic of the night,  
And trace the limner's airy thought  
In syllables of silver wrought.  
The icy frost-panes, dipped in gold,  
Color with truth the fable old,  
Where windows of a thousand dyes  
Sparkled before Aladdin's eyes,  
And of a night's enchantment born  
Arose transfigured to the morn!

JOEL BENTON.

## Correspondence.

### "IRELAND'S WRONGS."

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

THE NATION is so respectable a journal, and is so very fair and candid in its statements and arguments, that I read with some astonishment the following passage in the number for December 14 in reference to Ireland: "The wrongs which alone make English domination odious." Will you kindly specify those wrongs? I have often heard your countrymen talk of the wrongs of Ireland, and always asked them to describe these wrongs to me. I never yet found one who could point out any example of injustice of English rule. Irishmen rise to the highest positions in the state; there is no impediment to their progress at the bar or the other professions—to be sure, we do not make bishops of them often—and in all essential points they live under the same laws as everybody else in Great Britain. But, not to make any statement of my own, will you be so good as to inform me what are the "wrongs" to which you allude? Every just man would use his influence to remedy them, and I am sure English statesmen would be much obliged to you for suggestions, since the standing mystery with reference to

Ireland is, that Irishmen are always going about the world whining about their "wrongs," and yet that no one can point out in what they are aggrieved. Pray, sir, clear up this difficulty. It is to America that we all look now for "more light," and you will greatly oblige us all by casting some on the great Irish puzzle.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

AN ENGLISHMAN.

BALTIMORE, 15th December.

[Our correspondent is evidently in the state of mind in which most of the "leaders" in the London *Times* on Irish questions are written. Irish grievances "bore" him. We are sorry we cannot spare the amount of space necessary to answer his questions. But we will do better, by referring him to a little book in which he will find all that any man needs to know in order to understand the condition of Ireland and what England can do to improve it. We mean Goldwin Smith's "Essay on Irish History and Irish Character." He will there read all we have to say on the subject, and much more, far better said than we could say it. In the meantime, we will mention two wrongs of the first magnitude under which Ireland has suffered for centuries, and which do contribute largely and justly to make "English domination odious." One is the pertinacity with which the English House of Commons assists Irish landlords in maintaining a system of land laws in Ireland which are utterly opposed to the traditions and habits of the people and the requirements of Irish society, and which, as administered, are barbarous and inhuman. The other is the maintenance of a state Church, which is not simply the Church of a small minority, though this would be bad enough, but the sign and memorial of conquest—a Church whose very existence as a political institution is a standing outrage to the population. And we consider the continued and bitter hostility with which the Irish Catholics still regard it as a most encouraging indication of the existence amongst them of a spirit which, in spite of Fenian folly, may yet make a healthy political life possible in Ireland.]

## THE SOVEREIGNTY OF THE STATES.

V.

### THE STATES UNDER THE CONSTITUTION.

THE first question which suggests itself is, Whether the Constitution is to be regarded as a substitute for the Articles of Confederation, abrogating them altogether, or as only an amendment to them? The former is no doubt the popular, but it is by no means clear that it is also the true legal, view of the matter. In legislation—and neither the Confederation nor the Constitution is anything but a *law*, enacted by the people instead of the national legislature—a new statute is held to rescind an old one only so far as it expressly repeals it, conflicts with it, or by implication supersedes it. The people which adopted the Constitution were the same people which had previously adopted the Articles. The *general* objects of both instruments were the same. The *specific* object of the Articles was to declare and to consolidate the perpetual unity of the nation; the *specific* object of the Constitution was to secure to the federal Government the powers which it had been found to want, in order to give it efficiency as the organ and minister of the national will. The Constitution nowhere in terms repeals the Articles, or even so much as mentions them; in very many particulars the new instrument does not conflict with the older, but rather requires reference to it as, if not supplementary to its provisions, at least explanatory of the meaning of them. For example, the Constitution is declared by the preamble to be the organic law of the "people of the United States," but it nowhere distinctly appears in the Constitution of what separate organizations the "United States" consisted; for the States are not named or enumerated in it except barely *by way of recital* in the second section of the first article apportioning representation in Congress. To know, authoritatively, who were the "people," and what was the territory of the "United States," we must refer to the Articles of Confederation, where the States are mentioned by name, as components of the "perpetual Union" declared by the Articles, and as assuming the style of "the United States of America." The Constitution does not give any name to the Union, or, except in the preamble and the attestation by the President, even indicate in what quarter of the globe the new republic is situated; and, of course, it impliedly refers to the Confederation for the specification and definition of its individuality. The preamble declares the purpose of the Constitution to be the formation of "a

more perfect union." *More* is a comparative. "More perfect" than what? Evidently than the Union the *perpetuity* of which had already been solemnly proclaimed by the Confederation. These instances—and they might be multiplied—suffice to show that the Constitution is in the nature of an amendment to the Confederation, and, of course, that the older articles are in force, except as overruled by conflicting provisions in the newer instrument. The point is, indeed, not important with reference to the principal question we are considering, except as negating the right of secession by the declaration of the perpetuity of the Union, which is embodied in more than one clause of the Articles. In this light it is of no small moment; for it is upon this alleged right (though disclaimed by Calhoun) that the argument for the sovereignty of the States—a Hibernian, or, in more complimentary phrase, a deductive argument, which begins with the conclusion and reasons back to the premises—has been very often grounded.

But let us proceed to the examination of the legal character of the Constitution. It is contended by very many that this instrument is a contract between the States. It is true that in the confusion of political ideas and of political language so common a few years earlier, the first written organic law describes itself as "Articles of Confederation and perpetual union between the States," which it proceeds to enumerate. But the Revolutionary period was full of political instruction, and in the ten years of fiery trial which elapsed between the two federal organizations, the nation had grown wiser; its statesmen understood better its condition and necessities, and had much clearer and more definite ideas in regard to the force of political phraseology. The framers of the Constitution felt that they were not brokers employed by opposite parties to chaffer a bargain. They knew it was their office to give shape to the utterance of the national will in a declaration of the mode by which the American people chose to govern itself and administer its common interests, and they fortunately committed the drafting of the most important secular written instrument (*next to the Declaration of Independence*) that ever proceeded from a human pen to one of the greatest masters of language who has employed the English tongue, Gouverneur Morris, a delegate from the State of New York. The Constitution, by the plainest implication, repudiates the character of a contract altogether. Contracts are necessarily between parties. The Constitution recognizes no parties, and but one sovereignty. It is not, as in the Confederation, the States who profess to stipulate, but "WE THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES" who "ORDAIN" and "ESTABLISH" a "Constitution for the United States of America." The power of the people is virtually declared to be unlimited; for though the legislative authority of Congress is in various ways restricted, yet by the fifth article, *any amendment whatever* may be made to the Constitution, except the repeal of the clause which secures to each State "its equal suffrage," its two votes in the Senate. It is important here to refer, by way of note, to a prevalent error in regard to the voice of the States in the Senate, which has been often asserted to be in the nature of a representation of the sovereignty of the States. The Senate is, *first*, a legislative chamber enjoying as such the same powers as the House of Representatives in all respects except the origination of bills for raising revenue; *secondly*, a high court of judicature for the trial of impeachments; and *thirdly*, an executive council, having power to confirm or reject appointments to office by the President, and to ratify, by a two-thirds vote, treaties negotiated by him. If the action of the Senate, in the exercise of these special jurisdictions, were of a representative character, the senators would give their voice by States; but all votes are taken and counted *per capita*, and the senators act as individual members of a national council, not as independent diplomats negotiating compacts in behalf of their respective governments. Besides this, if the Constitution had designed to secure to the States a corporate voice in the Senate, it would have conferred on them the power of recalling senators who should have disregarded the will of their constituents; but no such power exists, and the pretended right of instruction to the senators by the State Legislatures finds not a shadow of support in the Constitution.

But, however this may be, even this exception to the power of constitutional amendment—the only particular in which the people have apparently renounced its political omnipotence—might easily be rendered nugatory, for there is nothing to forbid an amendment which should abolish the Senate itself, and with it all "suffrage" in it.

Hence, by the very terms of the Constitution, the people of the States may so change that law as to take from the States every local jurisdiction, every attribute of sovereignty, every token of individuality they now possess. Is a State, which concedes to other States legal rights and prerogatives involving the power of extinguishing even its political existence, a *sovereign* State?

For our present purpose, the Constitution may be considered as dividing itself into two series of provisions: the one defining the powers of the fed



eral Government, the other limiting those of the States, and upon comparing these provisions, it will be seen that every attribute of an independent, national, as distinguished from a dependent, local, municipal, corporate sovereignty, is declared to be vested in the federal Government, and, on the other hand, is expressly denied to the individual States.

By the seventh section of the first article it is declared that Congress has power "to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises" for all national purposes. These taxes, of course, are collected within the territory of the States, and the payment of them is enforced by officers appointed by the federal Executive, who may be not even citizens of the State where they are employed, and by methods provided by federal legislation. To borrow money on the credit of the United States. To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and "with the Indian tribes," who, in many cases, resided within the States. To establish a uniform rule of naturalization and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States. To coin money, regulate the value thereof and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures. To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States. To establish post-offices and post-roads. To grant patents for inventions and copyrights. To constitute federal tribunals within the several States. To define and punish piracy and other offences against the law of nations. To declare war. To raise and support armies and a navy. To call out the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions. To organize, arm, and discipline the militia. And, finally, to make all laws necessary for carrying into execution these large powers and all others vested in the United States Government or its officers.

So much for the powers of Congress. What are those of the federal Executive?

By the second section of the second article the President commands the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several States when called into the service of the United States. With the consent of the Senate he makes treaties, whether of peace or of commerce and navigation, with foreign powers. He appoints all officers of the United States. He sends and receives ambassadors, and calls special sessions of Congress, and by the seventh section of the first article he is invested with the power of *veto* upon laws of Congress unless re-enacted by a two-thirds vote.

By the third article the federal judiciary takes cognizance of all questions arising under the Constitution or the laws of the United States; all cases affecting ambassadors or other foreign representatives; all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; all controversies to which the United States is a party; and controversies between citizens of different States; and

The sixth article declares that "the Constitution, the laws made in pursuance thereof, and treaties made under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, *anything in the constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.*"

By the ninth article of amendments, subsequently adopted, it was provided that "the enumeration, in the Constitution, of certain *rights*, shall not be construed to deny or disparage *others retained by the people*;" and by the tenth article of the same, that "the *powers* not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people," which, of course, is to be construed, *reglendo singula singulis*, municipal powers which they had always enjoyed to the States, political and sovereign powers to the people (not of the several States, which would have required a different form of expression, but) of the Union, in whom those powers had always been vested.

Looking at these provisions, a stranger to the political history of the United States would suppose it quite impossible that any territorial jurisdiction, within the limits of that commonwealth, could possibly lay claim to the attribute of political sovereignty; for, except upon the supposition that sovereignty is infinitely divisible, he would not be able to imagine any sovereign prerogative that could remain to a State after so many had been lodged exclusively in the federal Government, so much reserved to the people. But the Constitution goes even further. It expressly denies to the States every truly sovereign power which, by any possible implication, could be considered as reserved or conceded to the several States, every one of the *indicia* by which political communities are known to the world as independent, self-subsisting organizations. The tenth section of the first article declares that "no State shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation; grant letters of marque or reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make anything but gold or silver a legal tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, *ex post facto* law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts; grant any title of nobility; impose any tonnage duty; keep troops

or ships in time of peace; enter into any agreement or compact with another State or with a foreign power; or engage in war except when actually invaded."

What one of the functions of sovereignty not more or less common to many municipal corporations could a commonwealth, destitute of these prerogatives and controlled in so many ways by a superior power, effectually discharge? How could it make its existence legally known to foreign states? How provide for the commercial interests of its people, or even for the security of their lives and property? How, in short, fulfil any one of the duties of an independent government to its people?

The practical construction of the Constitution has been uniformly irreconcilable with the notion of State sovereignty; and the Supreme Court, in the *Dred Scott* case, went so far as even to deny to the States the power of defining the qualifications of their own citizenship. Not only has Congress always exercised the sovereign powers specifically vested in it by the Constitution, but the administration of the Government has always proceeded upon the admitted ground that we were one undivided people inhabiting one indivisible territory. All the vast additions to our original bounds have been acquired at the common expense of the whole Union, and the proceeds of the sales of public lands, whether situated within the limits of the States or in unadmitted territories, have been paid into the common treasury. The survey of the coast, light-houses, and harbor improvements, the removal even of obstructions to navigation in great inland rivers, have been the work of the national Government. Our maritime defences have all been planned by federal engineers, constructed at the cost of the federal treasury, manned by soldiers enrolled and paid by the federal Government, and even the fortresses which enabled the rebels so long to resist the national arms at Charleston were erected by the nation for the security, not of always factious, always unpatriotic, and now treasonable South Carolina alone, but as part of a chain designed to defend other territory also from foreign aggression.

So with regard to the admission of new States which, having been framed out of territory either uninhabited or subject to foreign powers at the time of its acquisition by us, certainly came into the Union without any existing rights of sovereignty, or any political rights except such as are secured to them by the Constitution when admitted as States. When and how, then, did they acquire a sovereignty paramount to that of the Union? These States have, it is admitted on all hands, precisely the same rights and powers as the old States originally organized as British colonies, and, conversely, the old States have no other rights or powers than those belonging to the new. The Southern school of politicians contends that secession is one of these rights, and, in fact, it is impossible to separate the right of secession from the right of sovereignty. Admit the latter and the former necessarily follows, just as the right of secession involves the attributes of sovereignty. But when Florida, which had been acquired at the cost of millions, and defended at the cost of tens of millions, of national treasure, was admitted as a State, would her neighbors, Georgia and Alabama and South Carolina, have allowed that she might have seceded the day after, and sold herself back to Spain? Could Texas, after receiving the vast sum we paid for the purchase of her lands, have forthwith withdrawn from the Union and joined herself once more to the fortunes of anarchical but anti-slavery Mexico? We pretended to re-annex Texas as territory once ours, unconstitutionally surrendered by our Government. Did that territory become *less* ours than before, when Texas had been solemnly received into the family of States?

In the present condition of affairs, the establishment of the doctrine of State sovereignty would be of no advantage to the South; for, in that case, the Southern people is now in the position of any foreign enemy reduced by conquest; and, of course, has lost all political rights; though I should not be prepared to go so far as those who contend that, by such conquest, all the private property of the inhabitants of the rebel States has become vested in the Union, and ought to be disposed of accordingly. That the Union has all the legal rights which the laws of modern warfare ascribe to the conqueror, all that belong to a power which has put down a causeless rebellion by the sword, cannot reasonably be doubted; but the necessity or expediency of enforcing those extreme rights is quite another question. The true and the safe theory is that on which the late and the present Administration seem to have thus far proceeded, and upon which alone the action of Congress and the other departments of the Government, in the recognition and admission of Western Virginia, as a State carved out of the territory of another State without the consent of the latter, can be justified—namely, that the States are not sovereign under the federal Constitution; that the act of secession adopted by the legislatures of the rebel States, and accepted by their people, is a voluntary legal surrender of their corporate rights and franchises; that, independently of this point, the rebel States

have, by actually withdrawing from the Union and rebelling against it, forfeited those rights; and that upon either ground, their municipal privileges are gone, and they are become part and parcel of the unorganized territory of the Union, and must be re-organized as they originally were at the period of the Revolution, by authority of the federal Government. It is evidently impossible for them to be legally re-constituted by any other means. The official life of every State functionary, every legislative, every judicial, every executive authority, under the former lawful government, has been determined by lapse of time or voluntary surrender, and even if we treat the old State constitutions as still in force, there is nowhere a power within the States to set the machinery in motion. They are, upon that supposition, a people without rulers, without official organs. There is no executive, no judiciary, no legislature, no officer who has authority to summon the primary assemblies for the election of a legislative body. That authority, all civil authority in short, can come from one source alone, the source from which, as I have so often said, it originally proceeded, the federal Government.

I have now completed the task I had proposed, of illustrating, by historical facts and familiar, untechnical arguments, the true relations between the Union and the great subordinate municipalities into which its territory is divided. I hope I have shown that the people of the Union acting through the federal Government is the sole sovereign of or in our commonwealth, and has the same power over the disorganized States as over the unorganized territory of the United States. It may impose such conditions upon the re-admission of those States as it shall think needful for the future security and common good of the Union. The people has entrusted this power to strong hands, firm wills, wise heads, and patriotic hearts. We need not fear that they will abuse it.

FLORENCE, ITALY, NOV. 30.

G. P. M.

### THE SOUTH AS IT IS.

FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.

XXI.

COLUMBIA, S. C., December 5, 1865.

THE hardships of railway travelling over the swamps and uplands of South Carolina have been often set forth of late, and have not been exaggerated. Rails worn out, shaky, creaking trestle-works, the slow, thumping motion, the frequent transfers from dirty cars to dirtier ferry-boats and stages, the lack of hotels at the stopping places, and the long delays, with a dozen other inconveniences, rob the traveller of rest and peace of body and mind. After a few hours' ride, everybody becomes fatigued and thoroughly ill-humored, and only speaks to grumble. At Florence, in the dusk of the evening, I heard a small, smoke-dried, vicious-looking boy, a poor white of thirteen or fourteen years old, giving expression to his own feelings and those of his fellow-passengers. He stood on the car-platform, leaning over the brake in an attitude of exhaustion, and accosted me as I went up the steps:

"A'n't there no sellers round yer sellin' snacks?"

"No," I told him; "there's a hotel, though."

"Yes, hominy for a dollar. There'd ought to be sellers. I'm starved myself and so's ma'am. Dog-gorn sich roads anyhow. Wear me out. By G—, I could git down an' walk a heap faster 'n these cussed kyars. Creepin' along so durned slow! I'd like to know if they think they 're goin' to make connections."

Then he pronounced the engineer and conductor "no account," and imprecated curses on his own head if he ever was hired to run trains on that road. Going into the car he joined his mother, a person even more irascible and fierce than himself, to whom he briefly reported his ill success, and then the two slept, curled up in one seat for the sake of warmth, till we reached Sumterville. A seven or eight hours' ride, at the rate of four miles an hour, brought us, at four o'clock in the morning, to Kingsville. The village never contained more than half a dozen buildings, and, as Sherman's men have been there, only two of these remain. A bed could be had at neither, and the passengers made themselves as comfortable as might be in the cars. The air was full of a white mist, obscuring the stars; but the night was not dark, for the moon was shining, and the weather was unseasonably warm. I walked about, therefore, a little while, and went along towards some fires that were burning in the open air at a few rods' distance. Close beside the track lay a confused heap of bundles and boxes and rude furniture, evidently the household property of negroes. There were small pots and pans, bags of corn, ground nuts tied up in sheets, three-legged stools, and coops in which

hens and chickens were cackling and peeping. Behind this barricade were several rude huts, made of poles or boards, with a covering of canvas or rusty sheets of iron from the ruined locomotives. In front of each shelter was a fire, with men and women round it talking and smoking. Other negroes lay among the luggage guarding it, and the whole camp seemed to contain about a hundred people. I talked first with one of the old women. She rose from her seat on the ground as I approached and made a courtesy, while her companion, still older than herself, remained cowering over the embers. Both were without shoes and very ragged.

"You're sitting up late," I said.

"Who for watch de tings, mawssa, ef we sleep? Who for watch my leel corn and grun-nut? Tell er, mawssa, 'bleeged to sit up late, 'less dey be gone 'fore day, clean."

"You've got a good deal of corn, have you?"

"Got not but tree peck. Dat's my sheer when dey sheered. Dunno ef I has tree peck."

"Is that what you've got to keep you next year?"

"Dat leel bit o' corn keep me! Can't. Not ef I was to eat it by grains. No, can't, can't, sister," said the other old creature.

"All we gang o' nigger," they told me, "is rice nigger." Three years ago, Mr. H. B., their master, who was a rice planter on the Combahee, had moved more than a hundred of them up into Richland District out of the way of the Yankees, and, having hired land, had kept them employed in raising corn. They had now for three nights and two days been "waitin' upon de train" that was to take them back to their former place of residence, and they seemed very glad at the thought of returning. I asked if any of their people had died since they were moved up the country. "Oh, 'nough dead," the old woman said, "'nough," and they called a man from the nearest hut to help them in counting. The three together recollected twenty-eight. Why had so many died? I asked. "Look yer, mawssa," said the woman, "shum? shum?" showing first one bare foot and then the other; "dat's what do 'em. No shoe, no clogs, an' den de fros' git up into deir body, tell when de sun come down so hot, dey dies too fas'. Tight livin' what do 'em so; not'in' to eat. S' help me God, some day I trow my head back so, look up into de heaben—dear Christ, mawssa, I mos' starve to death."

The last time when blankets and clothing had been given them was the winter before the war broke out. During the season just closed they had been working for one-half the crop, and some of them had received ten bushels of corn and three or four bushels of ground-nuts. Others had received only a bushel of corn; but these were very inferior hands, such as old people who could do no field-work, but had been employed in spinning and minding the children. Their employer had also given them a monthly allowance of corn meal and molasses. I asked the man what were his plans for the coming year. He did n't know; he'd prefer to get a piece of ground for his own, and he looked at me enquiringly. It was n't likely, I told him, that he would be able to do that. Then he'd work for master, he reckoned, on the rice plantation. If he could n't be by himself, he and his family working land for themselves, he'd prefer to stay with his fellow-servants. Mr. B. wanted them all to go back to his place, and that was where they were going now. He'd work for money or on shares.

One of the passengers, a mild-faced, mild-spoken little Irish gentleman, had walked down into the camp, having found it vain to hope for sleep in the uncomfortable car, and we whiled away an hour in conversation. He had been an instructor in the Catholic college or seminary at Columbia, and appeared to have taken no interest in politics or war. He talked of Kingsville as he had known it during the past four years. His home was in Sumter, and in going to visit his family he was often compelled to wait a day or two in Kingsville. The cars would be broken down, or all the cars would be needed for the transportation of soldiers or of federal prisoners going from Andersonville to Florence. It would have melted a heart of stone to look at them. Wirtz, the jailer at Andersonville, had been executed, he believed; if he was responsible for the horrible condition of those men, surely he deserved hanging. He never had gone but once to the place where they had them guarded; a second sight of them he could not have borne. All of them were shockingly filthy and hardly looked like human beings; some were nearly naked as they were born, some were starved down to skin and bone, some were begging pitifully for a drink of water, and some were in the very act of dying. He should not forget to the last moment of his life two or three that were crazed and ran about with loud cries and laughter. It seemed to him as if mercy and humanity had fled the land, and the earth had become a pandemonium. There was no pity or respect for the dead even; they were buried as you'd bury an old horse. He pointed out the spot among the trees, on the north side of the railroad,



where he had seen these things, and declared that he desired never to put his eyes on it again.

At seven o'clock a train of empty freight cars arrived, with the engine laboring in the rear, and in the course of the next three hours we were pushed along to Hopkins's Turn-out, where the road at present terminates. Here, too, were negroes encamped beside the road, with their corn and bedding piled around them, waiting till they could be carried down to the coast. I learn from the officers of the Bureau in this city that during November they sent down about two hundred and fifty persons each week, and they give transportation to those only who are too old or too young to make the journey on foot. Through the summer and early autumn transportation was given to none; but it is estimated that in each month more than a thousand negroes passed through Columbia on their way to the low country, most of them being negroes whom their masters had removed into the interior for safe keeping. The opinion that land is to be given them by the Government is, or was, undoubtedly prevalent—how generally prevalent it would be very hard to say, but in any case the people would have made very great exertions to get back to their former homes and the country in which they were born—"their old range," as they express it.

At Hopkins's the traveller chooses some one of the several stages which in four hours and for four dollars carry passengers through the mud to Columbia. Even at this distance from the sea the country, though somewhat rolling and not entirely sandy, is still a dreary pine forest, and in the twelve miles' ride we passed but very few clearings. The road, however, is well travelled, and we met more than a hundred wagons, of which most were getting, as best they could, to the railroad with heavy loads of cotton. Four or five Government wagons also we met. "What 's them comin'?" said our driver. "Damned Yankee wagons. I hate to give 'em the road, but I'll have to do it, I suppose;" and he gave as little as he could, honoring each teamster as he passed with a long stare, which was duly returned. He drove carefully, however, and brought us through without an overturn, and without obliging us to alight. My companions were two gentlemen, of whom one had been and one now is a high executive official of the State. Fatigue prevented much conversation, except such as grew out of the present perils of the road, or was suggested by the inconveniences of the night before. Even the negro and the reconstruction question were hardly mentioned. "Andy Johnson," one said, and the other assented, "has done a great deal better than we could have expected." One of the party remarked that he had read in the late New York papers that General Grant was decidedly in favor of war against Maximilian. "Well," it was replied, "he certainly talked that way to me. He said if he had n't felt confident last summer that war would of course be declared, he would have thrown a corps across the Rio Grande when Sheridan first went down to Texas. He said he thought he could have got a corps of Confederate soldiers into that service."

"Well, he 's mistaken then; he could n't."

"I do n't know. I think it 's more than probable he could. There seems to be such fascination about the life of a soldier that it 's difficult for a man to settle down to work after he 's tried it. You'd be surprised, I venture to say, going into your own district to find the numbers of men that would enter the army."

"I can speak for one man from my own district, anyhow. I never want to see another soldier or hear another gun fired."

"I do n't; but I do n't know that we could do anything better with these negroes."

"Oh, if you could confine it to them."

It would have been a good thing, it was thought, if the Lieutenant-General had taken a run up to Columbia, and seen the handiwork of his friend Sherman. It was agreed that if Grant had commanded the federal army in its campaign in South Carolina, the American arms and the nineteenth century would not have been disgraced by such wholesale devastation.

The city is, indeed, a melancholy sight. In Richmond and Charleston the great conflagrations spared more than they destroyed, but in Columbia one is everywhere surrounded by ruins and silent desolation. Of the former great beauty of the city only so much remains as to cause one to regret the more that the work of destruction was so complete. The wide streets seem all the emptier for their width; the trees that shaded the walks were killed by the intense heat, and are now rows of dead trunks, and the pleasant slopes and hills light up the lonely chimneys and blackened walls into plainer view. The hatred of the Northern people, which makes itself manifest more or less distinctly in nearly every Southern community, the Northern visitor is better able to bear with in Columbia than elsewhere. It needs be so, for in no other city that I have visited has hostility seemed to me so bitter.

## ENGLAND.

LONDON, Dec. 9, 1865.

I AM thankful to say that throughout the country a general outcry is being raised against the savage cruelty with which the so-called Jamaica insurrection seems to have been suppressed. Public meetings have been summoned in most of our great towns to call for rigid enquiry; and even the papers which at the outset indulged in the fiercest declamations against the "nigger" and in the loudest eulogies on Governor Eyre's rigor, are beginning to change their tone. The *Saturday Review* itself is shamed into humanity, and the *Times* is now forced to admit that the case demands investigation. God knows that such tardy reparation does not, in my eyes, atone in any way for the crime which I fear has been committed. But, still, it is some satisfaction to feel that the public conscience is not yet hardened to a sense of cruelty. The old anti-slavery party—of whom Mr. Charles Buxton may be taken as a type—who, as a body, refused to express any sympathy for the North during the war, and justified their Southern leanings by asserting that the question of slavery was not involved in the contest, have been recalled to their earlier and better creed by the reputed horrors of these Jamaica massacres. The Government is in extreme perplexity how to act. The traditions of our rule, and, to some extent, the just traditions, prescribe the support of all colonial officials by the home authorities till such time as they can be proved guilty, and any infraction of this rule would expose the Government to the bitter ill-will of the ruling class, from whom our colonial officers are in the main selected. Then, too, the sympathies of the aristocratic and military caste are in favor of the attacked governor. His recall, whether just or unjust, would be regarded as a degrading concession to a popular outcry, and as a most dangerous precedent. Every officer in the army, from the commander-in-chief to the youngest ensign at the "Rag and Famish,"\* would swear that the service was going to the dogs if the Government were to repudiate Governor Eyre in obedience to public clamor; and I suspect that several of Earl Russell's aristocratic colleagues would resign sooner than support him in a step so hostile to the traditions of the service. On the other hand, the Premier, whose one great merit is, I think, an appreciation of the might of the English middle-class not common amongst his order, knows well enough that if the public feeling of the nation is once roused; if, as there seems reason to expect, the Low-Church party and the Dissenting communities are in earnest in their demand for justice, no ministry can resist the pressure brought to bear upon it. And the statesman who, on the occasion of a somewhat similar outburst of feeling, took advantage of it to lead the outcry against Papal aggression, is too shrewd not to know that he had better offend every member of the peerage and every one of the governing classes, than lose the support of the religious world. It is very currently reported, on well-informed authority, that the order for the governor's recall was sent out by the mail which sailed on Friday. But, personally, I doubt the truth of the story. If the Premier had resolved on so decisive a step he would, I think, have let it be known before now, in order to allay the raging agitation throughout the country. It has been resolved to send out a commission of enquiry; but this alone will hardly satisfy the public. To add to the embarrassments of the Ministry, no despatches from Governor Eyre were, it is said, received by last mail. The idea that his conduct would be questioned at home does not seem ever to have entered his head. That this should be so is, in itself, almost overwhelming evidence of his unfitness for the post he occupies. Sir Henry Storks, the Governor of Malta, has been summoned from that island by telegraph, and is to proceed to Jamaica, though in what capacity is not yet determined.

There seems to be little doubt that the King of the Belgians is dying. He has long been a sufferer from two complaints, stone and heart-disease of an aggravated kind. He is close on his seventy-fifth year, and there is little hope of his rallying from a severe attack of dysentery under which he is now laboring. In fact, the news of his death is hourly expected. No doubt, indeed, would be entertained about his death if he had not been expected to die so often, and suddenly recovered his strength. There is not a newspaper office in London which has not had the narrative of his life in type for ten years or more; he has already survived, to my knowledge, the authors of many of his journalistic biographies; still, it seems as if the end had come at last. A sort of Palmerston of royalty, he will hardly be missed personally when once he disappears from the stage of public life. But, as I have before written to you, I believe his death will close an era in European affairs just as Palmerston's has done in English politics. To no living person will his loss probably be greater than to our Queen. As was once said, he is the only human being left who could call her by her Christian name. He was always happier in England, where his brightest years had been passed, than in the country over which he ruled; and his visits

to Windsor were very frequent, and it is supposed very welcome. His death may possibly deter the Queen from carrying out her intention of re-entering public life; if so, it will be a real misfortune, as the country is growing impatient of the extraordinary privacy with which the court is surrounded.

As yet politics are at a discount. The excitement about Jamaica has nipped in the bud the faint indications of a reform agitation which had begun to manifest themselves, and we hear little of any meetings in favor of reform. Possibly the official ministerial announcement that the lowering of the borough franchise to six pounds is to be proposed as a Government measure may rouse up public feeling, but so far the rumor of such an intention has produced no great effect. In default of politics there is a great deal of languid discussion going on about social questions. The only controversy which appears to me likely to lead to anything is one concerning the extension of our English universities, in which our leading scholastic authorities have taken an active part. There is no doubt that Oxford and Cambridge were intended as schools of instruction for the nation; there is equally little doubt that, practically, they are now confined to the sons of the well-to-do classes who belong to the Established Church. No student can become a student of the university, very much in the same way as nobody, unless I am mistaken,\* can become a citizen of the United States; he must become a member of some college, just as a settler must become a citizen of some State; and by virtue of that fact he becomes a member of the university. Now all these colleges have buildings and endowments and rules of their own, and at all of them the Episcopal religion is that to which the students are required to conform. Of late years certain modifications have been made in favor of Dissenters; but, as a matter of fact, any lad who is not a member of the Established Church finds himself in a false position at Oxford, and is debarred from gaining most of the scholarships and fellowships which form the chief pecuniary rewards of university study. Then, too, the rate of living at either Oxford or Cambridge debars students of small means from going to our universities. Whenever any complaint is made about the expenses of a college education, the tutors cite some instance of a model student who enjoyed every advantage of the university for under one hundred pounds a year. It is possible that such exceptions may be true; but, as a rule, an undergraduate, who is not extravagant, spends from two to two hundred and fifty per annum during his three and a half years of residence; and a father has not much ground for grumbling if his son costs him a thousand pounds between matriculation and the time of taking his degree. Under these circumstances Oxford or Cambridge is not the place for the sons of needy parents, and, to speak the honest truth, the university authorities do not wish it should ever become so. Perhaps I should be doing them more justice if I said that they would like to make our universities national schools, if they could do so consistently with keeping up the high tone of social breeding which does undoubtedly prevail to some degree at these academies, and which is due to the fact that the students, as a body, belong to the wealthy classes. In order to obtain these two antagonistic advantages, our Oxford and Cambridge reformers are constantly devising schemes for restoring the universities to their ancient character without losing their modern attributes. At last Dr. Temple, the head master of Rugby School, has proposed the obvious solution that students should not be obliged to live in college, but may occupy lodgings in the town. The scheme has roused bitter opposition from the dons, and seems to me not to go far enough for its purpose. The only real way to throw open the universities is to let every student come to the university without attaching himself to any college, and live how and where he likes. If you do this you destroy the collegiate system, with its manifold advantages; but, from my experience of the world, I should say that at colleges, as everywhere else, low prices involve the absence of selectness. There are advantages in having things cheap; there are advantages in having them select; and you must choose between the two. The reservation of the great national universities to a certain class, and to the members of a certain creed, is part of our aristocratic system; and before you throw open Oxford and Cambridge to the nation, you will have to effect a national revolution in our social polity.

The great Yelverton marriage case, of which you must have heard before now, has re-appeared once more before the public. Last year, Miss Longworth or Mrs. Yelverton, as you like to call her, obtained a final hearing before the House of Lords and failed to substantiate her marriage. On this the *Saturday Review*, which, for some reason or other, has always espoused the cause of Major Yelverton's present wife, writes a very savage article upon Miss Longworth's defeat. On this the unfortunate lady, who seems to have a passion for law, brought an action in the Scotch courts against the paper in question for libel. The object of the suit was to elicit an opinion favorable to the assumption of her alleged marriage. If the Scotch courts

decided it was a libel to say she was not a married woman, it followed that, in their opinion, she was lawfully wedded to Major Yelverton. In Scotland, as in Ireland, the sympathy for Miss Longworth has always been extremely vivid; and it was thought she would carry her case. The judges summed up in her favor; but the jury found that no libel had been uttered. In the interest of the freedom of the press, I am glad that such a decision has been arrived at, as the article in the *Saturday Review*, though ill-natured and discreditable, did not, in my opinion, exceed the license of legal comment.

The works of "Artemus Ward" have had so much success in this country as to have given rise to a lawsuit. Two publishers have issued rival editions of his travels amongst the Mormons; and both claim to have the exclusive right of publishing. Mr. Hotten has set up a plea of copyright, on the ground, as far as I can understand, that a Mr. Kingston, an Englishman, is a joint author of the book under discussion. Some day or other, I hope we shall have an Anglo-American copyright law; till then, I am afraid "Mr. Ward" will derive very little profit from the popularity of his books in England, whatever his rival publishers may do themselves.

### THE ENGLISH OF THE NEWSPAPERS.

THERE may be those who regard the corruption of the English language as of little consequence, and who enjoy their newspapers without being troubled by the solecisms, the barbarisms, and the vulgar phraseology which the readers of many public journals are fated to encounter. Those who are themselves careless in their conversation, and indifferent to the laws of elegance and propriety, will scarcely be critical in their judgment of a written style, and will be satisfied with the intelligence which they receive without quarrelling with the vehicle by which it is conveyed to them. It would be useless to point out to such persons the exquisite pleasure which mere propriety of expression, without consideration of the thought or information presented, is capable of imparting; and they might be only amused if they were told that inaccuracy of language, since it necessarily involves inaccuracy of statement, is both a departure from the standard of good taste and a serious offense against the rules of strict morality. Vulgarly of expression, it is true, does not always imply vulgarity of thought; but the coarse writer too often proves to be a coarse thinker, and he who constantly obtrudes printed slip-slop upon the public, can hardly have either the feelings or the manners of an educated gentleman. We are ready to make proper allowance for the rapidity with which newspapers must be manufactured; but it becomes their managers seriously to consider the influence, good or bad, upon the public taste which they inevitably exert, and to remember that the repetition in their columns of colloquial vulgarities, of cant phrases, and of verbal absurdities, gives to such enormities a certain respectability, and, by making them familiar, ensures their general adoption. There are newspapers in this city which constantly use the word "aldermanic." The authority given for this is "Worcester's Dictionary," and the authority of Worcester is the "Edinburgh Review." If Lord Jeffrey wittingly permitted this frightful word to be printed in his journal, he has much to answer for. There is and there can be no such termination as "manic" derived from "man." The only derivatives from this noun, of this class, are "manly," and, in a bad sense, "mannish," as applied to impudent and forward women. We have heard the word defended by the citation of "Germanje," but the termination here is purely Latin from "Germanicus," and between "aldermanic" and "Germanic" there is no analogy. One bad word breeds another, and no sooner is "aldermanic" naturalized than "councilmanic" comes fresh from the mint of the reporters—a coinage for the validity of which no argument whatever can be offered. What monstrous manufacture may follow, we do not venture to predict.

The reporters, it is well known, scorn to use any other than the longest and finest words in the language. The news from the Stock Exchange comes to us written in a jargon which may be Choctaw, but most certainly is not English. The musical critics employ words in senses which may convey some meaning to the initiated, but to the initiated only; and there is a mad style of writing about the opera which is very irritating to those who go there simply and innocently to enjoy the playing and the singing. We do not quarrel with the word "auditorium," although it is not English; but we are seriously disposed to quarrel with a writer who tells us that "the auditorium of the New York Circus has been enlarged." People go to the horse-riding to see and not to hear. The article before us informs us that at the circus "the company will appear in all manner of equestrian, gymnastic, and acrobatic feats." For what reason, then, has the *auditorium* been enlarged?—to hear the riders the climbers, and the jumpers? The word means literally a school—not in the sense of a hall or lecture-room,

\* He is mistaken.—ED. NATION.



but in that of a collection of hearers. Shade of Fabius Quintilianus! what would you say to the *auditorium* of the New York Circus?

Another dramatic critic praises a new play by declaring that "it is full of telling situations." What does he mean? Certainly not that the situations tell the story of the drama forcibly. He merely means to say that they are striking or entertaining. Then, why does he not say so? Why does he have recourse to a threadbare verbal vulgarity worthy only of the pot-house or the prize-ring?

We must be permitted, however, to declare that, after all, we prefer the Doric simplicity of phrases unmistakably rude to the Corinthian embellishments and cheap finery of more ambitious writers. Why should a gentleman who wishes to state that yesterday was fine, inform us that "it seemed like the vision of an Apician banquet to a famished wretch, or the delicious whisper of hope to a despairing soul?" Why should he speak thus of any day, however nasty?

"Tuesday was certainly one of the most disagreeable days possible, and the pluvial powers that created it must have exhausted their resources for some time to come in their pessimistic effort."

There is such a word as "pluvial," but why not say "rainy?" There is no such word as "pessimistic," we are glad to say, in the English nor in any other language with which we are acquainted. There is such a word as "pessimist," as there is also "optimist," but if we say "pessimistic," why may we not say "optimistic?" Besides, "pessimistic," if it means anything, does not mean "very bad," as this writer probably supposed. "A pessimist" is one who habitually looks upon the dark side of things, and an adjective derived from it must have a cognate meaning, which, as here used, it does not have at all. Will our readers tolerate another specimen?

"The white clouds floated slowly and dreamily over the violet heavens, as if they were wondering at the *charmfulness* of the day, and looking their last upon a thing of beauty that soon must die."

We confess that we no more understand "the charmfulness" of this style of writing than we do the meaning of "charmfulness" itself. Again, we say that there is no such word; and here its use is wanton, for "charm" would have fully expressed what little sense the writer had to convey. It is possible that this bad word may be found in Mr. Tupper, or in Mr. Walt Whitman, or in Mr. Robert Montgomery; but none of these masters of "poetical tumor" has yet been canonized by the makers of dictionaries.

Enough of unpleasant illustration. We have offered these strictures in no spirit of captious and finical fault-finding, but because we seriously believe that the loose and irregular methods of employing words which obtain in some newspapers, and we are sorry to say not seldom in the pulpit and in Congress, are of dangerous import to the purity of our tongue. To the reader who thinks this to be a trifling matter we have nothing to say, for he has yet to learn the true significance and value of language; and whoever fully comprehends these will require from us no apology.

## Literature.

### LITERARY NOTES.

UNDER the prevailing influence of the holiday season, the useful in literature is superseded by the ornamental, and until the present rush for gift books is over, no publisher would think of bringing out works of a standard or studious character, as, however great their merit might be, they could scarcely meet with proper attention while the current of public taste is running strongly in another direction. The production and sale of embellished books, all prepared with a special view to the wants of purchasers at this time, forms an important branch of the commerce of literature, as well as the link that connects it with art, sometimes to the manifest advantage of both, but oftener, it must be owned, with all the characteristics of an unequal and ill-assorted union. The trade this year in illustrated books has shared in the general prosperity of the country; what with home supplies and foreign importations, the market has been well stocked with novelties, and purchasers have had no reason to complain of want of materials for selection. The chief feature to be noticed in the kind of art most in demand is the growing fondness for color, as employed in illuminated books. With this, a regard for ecclesiastical tradition and what is called Christian art has much to do, though even without these associations there is no doubt that the educated eye hungers for color in all the surroundings and accessories of life to a degree that opens a wide field for decorative artists who have knowledge and enterprise enough to cultivate it.

—The artistic honors of the year, as decided by the voice of popular favor, unquestionably belong to Gustave Doré. His great illustrated Bible, in two

splendidly printed folios, and designs for Dante's "Inferno," issued in connection with Cary's English version, have just made their appearance among us in good time for Christmas, and have thus been brought within the view of hundreds, perhaps thousands, not usually accessible to influences of art. They have, in fact, produced an actual sensation, due to the powers of this great artist and his wonderful mastery over the terrible and the grand. This is not the place to analyze his merits, but it is impossible even to glance at his "Bible" and at the costly "Illustrated New Testament," published by Longmans, without being struck with the fact how much an artist gains by understanding the peculiarities and capabilities of the material he works in. While in the English book the labors of the wood-engraver are frittered away in ineffectual attempts to rival steel-plate engraving by copying paintings of the old masters that depend for their value on physiognomical character and expression, Doré dashes his pencil in "the gloom of earthquake and eclipse," and, with a tenth part of the labor for the engravers, produces, on wood, effects—brilliant, startling, and astonishing—that no other style of engraving can, for a moment, compete with.

—An interesting incident mentioned in the "Life and Letters of Rev. Frederick W. Robertson" is his friendship with Lady Byron, the widow of the poet; and the fact that he heard from her the whole history of her life. To his hands was committed the charge of publishing, after her decease, her memoirs and letters. He said of her that she was one of the noblest and purest women he had ever met. "Her calm, subdued character (he writes), warm sympathy, and manifold wisdom have been one of my greatest privileges here"—during his residence at Brighton. Though, to her great regret, the early death of Mr. Robertson frustrated Lady Byron's purpose, it may well be supposed that an intention so deliberately settled—in which justice to others as well as herself was involved—would not be left dependent on accidental circumstances for its execution, and that we may yet see the memoirs, etc., whose existence is thus ascertained.

—The second series of Dean Stanley's "History of the Jewish Church" has just been received and put to press by Charles Scribner & Co., who will issue it as speedily as possible, uniform with their edition of the first series. The unusual delay connected with the publication of this volume in England, where it has been kept back more than a year, is probably due to the author's care to avail himself of the results of the explorations, now in progress from various sources, in the Holy Land. The period of Jewish history comprised in the volume is from the days of the Prophet Samuel to the Babylonish captivity, including the whole historic existence of the kingdoms of Judah and Israel. Very little has hitherto been done by English writers for the elucidation of this portion of the world's history. It assumes new life and interest in Dean Stanley's book, as he combines knowledge of the localities with all the learning of the subject, and a freedom of treatment not usually applied to its discussion. The second volume of Lange's "Commentary on the New Testament," including the Gospels of Mark and Luke, will also shortly be published by the same house. Its appearance has been somewhat retarded by the absence of the editor of the series, Dr. Schaff, on a visit to Europe, from whence he has just returned. Dr. Schaff received in Germany, where most of his time was spent, the most gratifying testimonies to the absorbing attention felt among the most eminent theologians and literary men of all denominations towards the result of the struggle for freedom in America. By invitation he addressed with great success two large and influential audiences at Berlin on the nature and true relations of the contest, and in various ways affected and enlightened public sentiment in Germany on the American question with the happiest results.

—The passages from Nathaniel Hawthorne's note-books, given in the January number of the "Atlantic Monthly," are of singular literary interest. They are extracted from his note-books, comprising several volumes of closely-written memoranda, found in his study after his decease. The specimens now given are dated thirty years back, at a time when Hawthorne was unknown to the world, and had published nothing, we believe, except, perhaps, a story or two in an "annual" or "souvenir," that no one comprehended or cared for. They show how a great writer is made; by what constant care and thought the felicities of genius are wrought out and moulded into lasting shape. The notes are of various kinds—studies of the aspects of nature at the various seasons of the year, executed with a Pre-Raphaelite minuteness, which he afterwards abandoned for a freer and bolder touch in his published writings; sketches of persons and people met with, hints for stories, etc. Many of these a careful student of his writings will find brought into later use; some single lines or reflections were pregnant with the richest future produce, while others remain an unworked mine. With many authors the handling of their private notes and memoranda would be a delicate task, but about all that Hawthorne did there was a



finish and symmetry that renders his slightest jottings fit for the public eye.

—Few African explorers meet with the success uniformly the portion of Dr. Livingstone, due, no doubt, to constitutional tact and courage acting unconsciously to its very possessor. A gentleman who has claims upon American notice, M. Duchailu, has been less fortunate in his late attempts to penetrate into the interior from Fernand Vaz in Western Equatorial Africa. After reaching a point about five hundred miles distant from the coast, a quarrel took place between his black servants and a party of the natives, in which a woman was killed. This led to a general attack on the expedition, from which M. Duchailu barely escaped with his life, losing all his collections of natural history, but preserving his journals and astronomical observations, which will form the basis of the narrative already in preparation for the press. He has been warmly welcomed on his return in England, and will read papers at the Royal Geographical and Anthropological Societies on his travels, the physical and craniological character of the natives he came in contact with, etc. Another traveller on the eastern side of the Continent, the Baron C. von der Decken, a Hanoverian nobleman, who first made certain the existence of the snowy mountains of Kilimanjaro, etc., in tropical Africa, has been stopped in his explorations by the loss of two steamers constructed expressly for river navigation on the bar at the mouth of the River Jubb, near the equator. The baron has, we believe, published no separate work, so that a connected account of his travels is wanting; but he communicates the results of his researches to the learned societies of Europe.

—The monument proposed by the friends of W. M. Thackeray has already been placed in Westminster Abbey, and was opened for inspection to the public two weeks since. It consists of a bust, sculptured by Baron Marochetti, placed upon a base of red serpentine, mounted on a bronze plinth, with a simple inscription of his name, and the dates of his birth and death. It is fixed against a wall column in the south transept, popularly known as "Poet's Corner," behind the statue of Joseph Addison, whose memory, in the more tardy justice of the last generation, was obliged to wait a century for a like recognition of its genius. It is to be hoped that the best monument to an author—a complete edition of his works—will not long be wanting. The copyrights of nearly all Thackeray's writings are now, by recent arrangement, the property of a single firm—Messrs. Smith & Elder, the originators of the "Cornhill Magazine"—and with whom, in the later years of his life, Thackeray was most closely connected. In this case, therefore, the difficulties that frequently prevent a complete and uniform impression of the writings of a deceased author do not exist, and the public would, unquestionably, respond liberally to any attempt, however costly (provided its execution corresponded), to present in a form worthy their merits the works of the last great writer on whom death has set the seal of classicity.

#### BOSH FOR BOYS.\*

THE Headleys, like the misfortunes and the Abbotts, come not singly: there are in fact two of them. Mr. J. T. Headley is the Sacred Mountaineer, and the historian of Napoleon and his marshals, and a long line of *ex uno disce omnes* works of narration; while Mr. P. C. Headley has chiefly given his talents to the instruction of females and small children, if we may attribute such a purpose to books variously entitled "Josephine," "Women of the Bible," "Hero Boy," "Patriot Boy," and the rest. It would not be just to judge either of these gentlemen for the literary failings of the other, and we shall not presume to say which is the more tedious and absurd. Nor would it, again, be fair to contrast them both with Messrs. Abbott, for similar reasons, although the parallel nature of their occupations, and the like division of their labors, naturally tempt us to comparison of Mr. J. T. Headley with Mr. John S. C. Abbott, and Mr. P. C. Headley with Mr. Jacob Abbott. We merely note the resemblance, and pass to examine the lives and careers of Sheridan and Farragut.

These biographies, as prepared by the Rev. P. C. Headley, for the instruction of the young, seem to be intended to meet the wants of a class denied access to the correspondence of the newspapers during the war, for the vastly greater part of either book is made up of generous quotation from this authority. But there are two objections to Mr. Headley's theory of biography as thus developed: one, that the class of readers addressed is probably very small; and another, that it could have been made more lucidly and

thoroughly instructive by a digested narrative. To this Mr. Headley may, of course, respond that his first object was to make a book of a certain number of pages, and that the purpose of instruction was secondary and incidental. His success in the chief enterprise is as undeniable as the printer's and binder's, and for the minor part of the undertaking each reader must pronounce his own sentence. The present writer, not being a young person (except in the warmth of sympathy and emotion naturally arising from a habit of criticism), has perhaps no right to speak in such a case; but he cannot help confessing that whereas before reading Mr. Headley's lives of Sheridan and Farragut he had some vague idea of their deeds and character, he has now no knowledge concerning them. We had some thought, indeed, of testing the effect of the volumes upon a really youthful mind, but at last gave up the notion of the experiment, as of something too nearly related to vivisection of animals—a thing useful to science, but repugnant to humanity.

We may speak more frankly concerning another point, and we cannot help blaming Mr. Headley for failing to name, in the greater number of instances, the sources from which he has helped himself with so much freedom. The newspaper correspondents who followed the perilous and laborious march of the armies, gathered their facts under the fire of the battles, and, before the fight was over or the toil of slaughter was done, wrote out the history of events still palpitating with danger and trembling between triumph and defeat, surely merited to be named as authority by a literary gentleman comfortably compiling their narratives in the leisure of his study. It was scarcely enough for him to indicate his indebtedness by apostrophes and inverted commas, since he meant to place the name of Rev. P. C. Headley as author on the title-page of a book nine parts quotation and one part feeble comment and slovenly introduction. Even the work of selection is not well performed, and there is no apparent attempt at arrangement. The compiler's literary honesty of purpose may be judged from the fact that he does not scruple to quote utterly irrelevant matter, if it can be made by any trick to do duty in the volume. General Sheridan goes to live at Zanesville, Ohio, in his boyhood, and we have, therefore, six pages concerning the settlement and early history of Zanesville, but no more concerning General Sheridan than the man in the moon. In like manner, when Sheridan goes to West Point, ensues the history of that academy, with a full account of the system and discipline there maintained. Because General Sheridan lived, breathed, and had his being when President Lincoln was murdered, his biographer gives at length the official statement of the assassination. In another place, Mr. Headley having transferred to his pages some officer's description of the cavalry service, quotes the description of the horse in Job, and then passes to a view of the horse in general, concluding with the noble burst of Christian morality: "How cruel and wicked in the sight of God and good men is the daily and hourly abuse of the brute, especially so of the princely horse!"

Mr. Headley's fitness to write for religious youth can scarcely be a matter of speculation with himself; but we venture to question it. In the course of his wholesale appropriations from the correspondents, he has gathered into his pages a great deal of profane language, for the newspaper people had no more hesitation in printing oaths than the soldiers in swearing them. Mr. Headley seems to be aware of some impropriety in the transfer of this profanity to his book, and tries to save himself by a daring homily at the end:

"General Sheridan is a member of the Roman Catholic Church; but, like too many of our officers, indulges in profane language in the heat of battle."

We imagine, however, that the mischief will have been done to the youthful reader before he reaches this passage, wherein he is further instructed that blasphemy is "a vice which Washington never allowed in his presence, and of which a greater than Washington has said, 'Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain!'" We must not suspect the Rev. Mr. Headley of a joke; but we leave it to his own candor if, considering the previously quoted blasphemy, his attitude in uttering this homily is not uncommonly like that of Tony Weller winking to the housekeeper while his infant grandson drains a porter-pot, and describing somebody as an awful young Turk.

#### BROWNELL'S WAR LYRICS.\*

WE who blamed Mr. Brownell for "The Rhyme of the Master's Mate," which he did not write, may be supposed to have a peculiar pleasure in praising him for these veritable war-lyrics, which he did write. Indeed, we wish to offer to their authentic power the most cordial welcome, and to say that in our mind Mr. Brownell remains as guiltless of poetic reproach as

\* "Life and Military Career of Major-General Philip Henry Sheridan. By Rev. P. C. Headley." New York: Wm. H. Appleton. 1865.

"Life and Naval Career of Vice-Admiral David Glascoe Farragut. By Rev. P. C. Headley." New York: Wm. H. Appleton. 1865.

\* "War Lyrics and other Poems. By Henry Howard Brownell." Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1866.

if we had never accused him of the "Rhyme of the Master's Mate." This is saying a great deal, and we hope Mr. Brownell will appreciate the virtue of so much candor; for we want him to take it into account with whatever disapproval we must mix with our applause of his book.

It is a very unequal book, and would have been much better if it had been much smaller. Nearly all the "Early Poems" printed in the volume might have been left out with singular advantage to the poet; and perhaps the reader would consent to lose every one, with the exception of the beautiful lines which follow:

## THE ADIEU.

Sweet Falsehoods, fare ye well!  
That may not longer dwell  
In this fond heart, dear paramours of Youth!  
A cold, unloving bride  
Is ever at my side—  
Yet who so pure, so beautiful as Truth?  
  
Long hath she sought my side,  
And would not be denied,  
Till, all perforce, she won my spirit o'er—  
And though her glances be  
But hard and stern to me,  
At every step I love her more and more.

For the most part, however, the early poems of Mr. Brownell suffer from that poverty of original thought and feeling observable in other people's early poems, and have only the interest of promise. Such efforts are, in fact, chiefly valuable when studied as part of men's lives rather than their works, for they are not literature; and Mr. Brownell might have safely concluded that as yet the world was less concerned in his biography than in his poetry.

Of the so-called "Miscellaneous Poems," the best is, undoubtedly, that by a "Parsinger" "A bored of a Californy Male-steamer." In this there is a racy humor, and a power of leaving the "Parsinger" to develop his own character in his own way, which is masterly and altogether admirable, and does more to prove Mr. Brownell's genius than ever so many fine verses of a serious nature. In other poems of the volume the author's gift of humor appears, and in that called "Honest Abe" he gives the old story of Aristides' ostracism a new life by infusing the flavor of modern manner and meanness. Is there not a fine sense of the unvarying essence of human "cussedness"—the same in Greece as in Connecticut—in these verses?

Once, while thus with general clamor  
Athena eased her factious heart—  
When the smith foretook his hammer,  
And the huckster left his mart—

Past the scene of noisy riot,  
Clatter of shells and windy talk,  
Aristides, calm and quiet,  
Chanced to take a morning walk.

Musing, in his wonted fashion,  
On the double care of state—  
On the Demos' fickle passion,  
And the cold patrician hate;

When a voter pressed beside him,  
Saying, "Stranger can you spell  
Aristides? Wal, jest write him,  
Square and straight, on this here shell."

Smiling, cheery as a cricket,  
Wrote the old Republican—  
Then, as he returned the ticket,  
Asked—"And what's his crime, my man?"

"Wal, not much," said Snooks, appearing  
Puzzled, "only I'll be cussed  
But I'm sick to death of hearing  
That old critter called 'THE JUST!'"

The poem "Let us Alone," which had so great popularity in the first days of the war (because it presented in a light odious and ridiculous the rascal pretence of the rebels that they only asked to be let alone, while they attacked the Union and seized everything belonging to it), must be still acknowledged as funny; but, like Whittier's ballad of "Maud Müller," it is a poem without a country. The Old Cove of Secessia speaks in cockney dialect and cockney slang, and one is vexed with the want of harmony between the fine spirit of American sarcasm and its outlandish utterance. This, however, is but a single fault, and Mr. Brownell's humorous power is so great that but for the distrust which we have learned to feel of all literary prophecy not retrospective in its nature, we should predict for him great probabilities as a humorist. We dwell on this power of his the more because we fear that, while people recognize his graver force, there is danger that many will not see his excellence in that lighter quality which is seldom absent from genius. To our thinking his humorous poetry is vastly better than all his other lyrics, except the battle-pieces. The miscellaneous poems generally do not surprise us, and there is a lingering immaturity in their French and Latin titles which is not pleasant to the taste. Nor are the war poems of nearly equal merit; and the long, long ode on Abraham Lincoln seems to us labored in manner and very meagre in matter. Mr. Brownell

is often obscure in his treatment of abstract themes, and he heightens the disagreeable effect of this fault by a profligacy of parentheses. The best of the more didactic poems (if we may so distinguish them from the lyric narrations of the book) is "Suspria Ensis," a most lofty and noble-thoughted song, in which the poet touches the sublime truth that all the heroism and self-devotion displayed in a bad cause are but greater and more distinguished shame.

Concerning the larger number of Mr. Brownell's battle-stories, there can be but one opinion: they are magnificent. We happened to be reading, just before we picked up our poet's volume, Messer Torquato Tasso's melodious description of a most proper combat under the walls of Jerusalem, and the contrast between that elegant engagement and Mr. Brownell's wild battle-scenes was droll enough. We must confess that he impressed us as speaking more authentically of war than his elder and better. Nay, we thought he sang more sublimely of its scenes, and perhaps it would not be going too far to say that we have never read any poet who seemed to sing of them with so blunt and fierce a verity. Mr. Brownell has had the fortune, rare among poets, to assist at most of the events which he pictures. In him the bard speaks from the soldier's knowledge, and it goes well as long as the fighter remains subject and silent, but he now and then gets in a word of his prose—honest, and meant to be savagely effective, no doubt, but undoubtedly failing of the purpose. On the whole, "The Bay Fight," by which the poet is best known, is his best poem. "The River Fight" is a far less worthy effort. Of course there are faults in the poem we like most, but these we choose to attribute to the irrepressible soldier, and not to the bard. Is it not the soldier who delights in the sulphurous metaphor of hell, and succeeds in bringing it in half a dozen times, in spite of the poet?

"With breath like the fume of hell,"

"Three hundred traps of hell,"

"Came with a howl of hell,"

"Of the roar and rage of hell."

Is there not rather more of hell here than the poet would have given us if he had kept the upper hand all the time? We suspect the soldier of some turgid and merely boisterous passages in other of Mr. Brownell's poems, and of a general delusion that hard talking is strong writing. Whereas the poet knows better, and has an original way of telling a great deal in a very few tough, bold words. All the wild tumult of the naval combat seems to enter into such lines as these:

"The storm of fight going on overhead,  
Tramp and thunder to wake the dead!  
The great guns jumping overhead,  
And the whole ship's company cheering!"

Our poet is not wanting in pathos either, for that goes naturally with strength and humor; and one may find genuine and deep emotion in the poem "Suspria Ensis," of which we have already spoken; and of feeling, ruder, but as manly and true, in "The Color-Bearer," who sits and muses by his flag under fire at Vicksburg.

In fine, Mr. Brownell's poetry is the best that the war has inspired. It is a great thing to have made the songs that he has made; and we perceive no good reason why a young poet, having lofty sympathies and generous beliefs; having a basis of good sense and good humor; having an excellent use of English, and no disdain of American; having won applause but not flattery, and being friends with the public—we say we perceive no reason why such a young poet as we take Mr. Brownell to be should not do even better in the future than he has done in the past.

*Literature for Children.*—Since our recent article on this subject other publications for the holidays have come to hand, and deserve a notice, however brief. Messrs. E. P. Dutton & Co., Boston (Hurd & Houghton, New York), send us "Ottalie's Stories for the Little Folks" (from the German), "Christmas Holidays at Cedar Grove," and "Cushions and Corners; or, Holidays at Old Orchard." They are tales—the first two especially—with a strong moral and religious flavor. Madame Ottalie's "Stories" are not wanting in ingenuity or imagination, but they are marred by an improbable jumbling of incidents and characters, and the "little folks" to whom they are addressed are sometimes credited with years that do not belong to them. The translation is too elevated, for the most part; but we notice the slang expression "top-heavy" admitted into good company without a brand. In "Christmas Holidays" a merry family of children are instructed in the history and meaning of the Christian festival. "Cushions and Corners" is a capital delineation of childish character, and is far the best of the three books named above. The conversations are managed very naturally, and the contrast between the dispositions so well symbolized by a cushion and a sharp corner, respectively, is wrought out skilfully and in a most interesting manner.—"Something New for My Little Friends" (J. B. Lippincott & Co., Philadelphia) contains original stories in verse which, without much diversity in form, being confined to two or three metres, are well told and smoothly, with a proper blending of humor, sentiment, and doctrine. The



Children's Hour" (same publishers) is an amusing batch of rhymes and extravagant stories, perhaps the cleverest of any now before us. The fun is so palpable that it cannot fail to be appreciated.—Mr. Tilton's verses, "The Two Hungry Kittens" (Tibbals & Whiting, New York), complete the trio of his compositions for children this year. They are very much better than the illustrations, by Mr. H. L. Stephens, and are worth all the illuminated lettering and borders which the publishers have lavished upon them.—Oliver Optic continues his "Woodville Stories" with "Work and Win" (Lee & Shepard, Boston). The moral which is conveyed in the text is revealed by Mr. Adams in his preface, which parents may read and the boys and girls skip if they please.—"The Song without Words," by the author of "The Schönberg-Cotta Family" (M. W. Dodd, New York), has an interior beauty which we fear will be quite lost on the children to whom it is dedicated. Not that an acquaintance with nature may not lead to the worship of deity, but that "nautilus," "teredo," and "medusa" are rather blind guides for the tender wit of childhood. In other words, for nature we have here natural history.—"Patriot Boys and Prison Pictures" (Ticknor & Fields, Boston) is composed of Mr. Edmund Kirke's contributions to "Our Young Folks," which have almost wholly pertained to the war and its prison experiences. Mr. Kirke knows how to interest the young as well as adults; but we wish he had not undertaken to vouch for the truth of all that he relates. We prefer to enjoy his narratives as works of the imagination—in part at least.—"Sun-Rays from Fair and Cloudy Skies" (D. Appleton & Co., New York) is an old acquaintance, with whom neither freshness nor probability abides. A hero "poor but honest," succored by a family rich but not proud, and a terminal bridal scene to which the party of the first part contributes a sister, and the party of the second part contributes a son—is it not the well-worn stock with which we have been familiar from our youth upward? If the poor read this book, they will be deluded; if the wealthy, they may be flattered, but will not be deceived, by the unreality. Walker, Fuller & Co., Boston, publish the third volume of Mr. Wm. M. Thayer's "Youth's History of the Rebellion." The plan of this work consists in a conversational narrative of the events of the war by an uncle to his nephews and nieces. This excites in the youthful reader an interest that might otherwise be wanting, though of course it labors under the disadvantage of anticipating his natural reflections on the themes presented. The woodcuts in illustration are of no value. The Gettysburg cemetery-gate is quite misrepresented. Mrs. Sarah W. Lander's series, "Spectacles for Young Eyes" (same publishers), is continued in a little volume on Rome. It tells, in the "Rollo" style, of a travelling family who have passed from Germany to Venice, and thence to the Eternal City. The proneness of the writer to pun is observable in this as in preceding volumes. For the rest there is little to be said. Some of the engravings seem to have been taken from photographs.

*Melodies and Madrigals; Mostly from the Old English Poets.* Edited by Richard Henry Stoddard. (New York: Bunce & Huntington.)—The difficult work of selecting the best lyrics from four centuries of English song has been done with rare success by Mr. Stoddard; and we have to express a feeling of delight, in looking through the book before us, which we have not known in our acquaintance with volumes of similar character. In fact, Mr. Stoddard has had all the difficulty of the undertaking, and has not left the greater part of it to the reader, as too frequently happens in enterprises of the kind. Cordial friendship with the subject and thorough learning in the elder English poetry, together with an unerring and sensitive taste, have produced a book in which, beginning with Sir Thomas Wyatt of the fifteenth century, you are tempted from epoch to epoch,

"And sweetly on and on,"

through all the varying richness of the rarest and loveliest poesies in the language, down to the late poets of our own time. We take it in vivid proof of the excellence of Mr. Stoddard's work, that it gives you almost unflinching any desired melody or madrigal of which you know a word or a line, while there is much in it that will be newly pleasant and precious to most lovers of our lyric poetry. Naturally, great part of the volume is given to the poets of the sixteenth century, when our verse was warm with the southern hues and sentiments caught from the study of Italian poetry, and when the lyric expression of our literature was most nearly effortless and perfect. The metaphysical feeling of the seventeenth century, when the muse often spoke to men with the beautiful seriousness, and fanciful elaboration of idea, and quaintness of imagery, which are lost arts to us now, is also well represented; and for the eighteenth century, barren in thought, and barren in feeling, and barren in language, Mr. Stoddard has done the best that any one could do.

The return, in our own cycle, to a better and more natural sentiment, and the consequent rejuvenescence of the poetic diction (people being commonly able to speak well as soon as they have something to say) find full recognition in the "Melodies and Madrigals;" and it is with surprise and delight that one observes, in looking over the familiar poems in the latter part of Mr. Stoddard's little book, how much of the finest thought of our age has sought lyrical utterance. The range of selection throughout the volume is good; not only the most notable characteristics of the lyrics of each time being developed, but that often far better expression which refuses to ally itself to any period being given. Of course, most of the "Melodies and Madrigals" are amorous praises and celebrations, but there is also a fair share of lyric utterances, of earnest and solemn speculation concerning life, and of meditation upon death. In fine, we think Mr. Stoddard has made a book unique in its excellence. Certainly it shows, among all the volumes for the holidays which we have seen, with unapproachable superiority. The manner in which it is published, with its quaint print on the fine saffron pages bordered with soft red lines, leaves nothing to be desired.

*The Life of Abraham Lincoln.* By J. G. Holland, member of the Massachusetts Historical Society. (Gardner Bill, Springfield, Mass.)—Notwith-

standing the haste with which this biography was produced by author and publisher, we esteem it the most satisfactory study of its subject that has yet appeared. Mr. Raymond's and Mr. Barrett's books were both composed for political effect, in view of an approaching Presidential election, or at least relied for their successful circulation upon the political popularity of Mr. Lincoln. The time had not come to consider his character apart from the accidents of office and the exigencies of a perilous crisis. Neither was access then to be had to the multitude of facts concerning his inner nature which his death has elicited in rendering them precious. It was chiefly, therefore, as a public man who deserved well of the people for eminent and faithful service in their behalf that Dr. Holland's predecessors were compelled to view our late Chief Magistrate. The present biographer has ventured upon the more comprehensive and analytical survey which is now possible, though only to a limited extent, as he is himself aware, because of yet undiscovered material and the closeness of the spectator to the colossal figure under contemplation. He has been little solicitous to reproduce the famous speeches and documents of Mr. Lincoln any further than they help to elucidate motives and principles of action, or reveal a reserved power not always conspicuous. With equal industry and care Dr. Holland has collected the most interesting particulars of the early life of Mr. Lincoln, illustrating those amiable and admirable traits which made the good man great, and kept the great man good. He has shown excellent discrimination in this compilation, and is never led away by excess of veneration into undue stress upon trifles. The story of Mr. Lincoln's integrity as a postmaster, which Mr. Barrett spoils by his absurd narration, here takes on its true significance, and becomes a valuable contribution to our knowledge. A large part of the anecdotes are fresh, and the reader's attention is riveted from the first chapter to the last. We anticipate the best results for the community in which this book shall obtain a wide familiarity.

*The Political History of the United States of America during the Great Rebellion.* By Edward McPherson. Second Edition. (Philp & Solomon, Washington.)—The "Rebellion Record," Senator Wilson's "Anti-Slavery Measures in Congress," and Mr. McPherson's "Political History," together exhaust the field of documentary research for whoever wishes to study the late rebellion in its breadth or in detail. Title and table of contents are insufficient to reveal the richness of the compilation before us. Every important fact, opinion even, speech, letter, proclamation, statute, that bears upon the development and career of treason, on the one hand, and on the striving of the federal Government to repress it, on the other, will be found in this full but compact octavo volume. The compiler's discrimination is equalled only by the labor which that word implies, and future historians will acknowledge their indebtedness to him for his extraordinary pains. The record opens with the result of the Presidential election of 1860, and the table of votes arrests attention at once, so strikingly does it exhibit the anomaly of our present electoral system. Thus: Mr. Lincoln carried 18 States, and yet had only 491,295 more suffrages than Mr. Douglas, who carried only New Jersey and Missouri; and was beaten on the popular vote by 947,289. Of what follows these singular statistics nothing, to our mind, is more instructive than the division headed "Proceedings of the Government in Relation to the Action of the Insurrectionary States." Here will be found the history of the disgraceful concessions by Congress and the "Peace Convention," in order to soften the wrath of the menacing slave power; and the wonder will grow with time that a nation which was so abject on the very brink of its attempted subjugation, rose at the first blow to vindicate the principles which it had just consented to sacrifice for "peace."

*The American Angler's Book.* By Thaddeus Norris. New Edition, with a Supplement. (E. H. Butler & Co., Philadelphia.)—Mr. Norris has undertaken to supply the omissions of those writers who have preceded him in describing American fishes, and to correct certain erroneous notions about angling, which have arisen from adopting too rigidly the English rules and practices. He also furnishes very clear and minute instruction in the art of making and repairing tackle. These are the distinguishing features of his work, which, for the rest, is unpretentiously written, and free from technicalities. After some general talk about the various kinds of anglers, about the habits and propagation of fish, and about tackle, the author takes up in detail the chief families of sporting-fish, both fresh-water and salt, illustrating most of them with excellent wood-engravings. The supplement is devoted to an account of the salmon rivers of Canada, inland sea-trout, and striped-bass fishing, and pisciculture—which last topic is also treated in chapter 18. In "Dies piscatorum" the reader is regaled, in the Waltonian fashion, with the discursive conversations of trout-fishers, whose experience embraces such well-known localities as the Lakes, the Adirondacks, etc. The story of the Megalloway, in New Hampshire, borrowed from an old number of the "Knickerbocker," could be better told to-day by any one who has lately tried that fruitful stream, or the six lakes whose waters, mingling with its own, find the ocean through the Androscoggin. A fair amount of humor is interspersed throughout the seven hundred pages which constitute the volume, and is heightened by vignettes drawn pleasantly, if not always with perfect accuracy. The publishers, in conjunction with printer and binder, have done their part very handsomely.

*The Radical: A Monthly Magazine devoted to Religion.* For sale by Francis, 506 Broadway.—We have in this small but very handsome periodical a remarkable sign of the times. Differ as we may from many of the conclusions found upon its pages, it is certainly a very earnest and a very able magazine. Thus far it has contained three sermons by Samuel Johnson, whom anti-slavery men well know for his untiring witness to their highest aims, and each of them has had a peculiar excellence and value. It will not do for men to answer thoughts and arguments like these with mere abuse, nor will it do to pass them by. They are the criticisms of to-day upon existing facts, and they cannot be demolished by attacking infidelity

that perished years and centuries ago. Radical as is this magazine in character as in name, it is eminently reverent and devout. It represents, ably and honestly, the thoughts of very many people in our midst. It has no concealments. It never for one moment tries to seem more orthodox than it really is. It is an interesting fact that among its principal contributors are some of the best workers in the social problems of the time. Thus, Johnson is one, John Weiss another, Wasson a third. Then we have Dr. Furness and Samuel Longfellow, O. B. Frothingham, Robert Collyer, and T. W. Higginson. These names ensure ability. It would seem that they ought also to ensure a circulation and success. Another writer is J. K. Hosmer, author of "The Color Guard," who prints in the December number a few verses that declare him a true poet, as his book declares him a true man of war.

**Plymouth Pulpit.** Notes from H. W. Beecher's Sermons, with a Sketch of Mr. Beecher and the Lecture Room. By Augusta Moore (Harper & Bros., New York.)—This book is not so good as "Life Thoughts," and the introduction is not in good rhetoric or good taste; but it contains the secret of Mr. Beecher's wonderful success. It is full of nature, poetry, and common sense.

### BOOKS RECEIVED.

**THE RESOURCES OF CALIFORNIA.** By John S. Hittel. A. Roman & Co., San Francisco; W. J. Widdleton, New York.

**THE TWO HUNGRY KITTENS.** By Theodore Tilton. Tibbals & Whiting, New York.

**THE SEVEN GREAT HYMNS OF THE MEDIEVAL CHURCH.** Anson D. F. Randolph, New York.

**RECONSTRUCTION IN AMERICA.** By a Member of the New York Bar. W. I. Pooley, New York.

**THE LATE ENGLISH POETS.** Edited by Richard Henry Stoddard. Bunce & Huntington, New York.

**WINIFRED BERTRAM AND THE WORLD SHE LIVED IN.** By the Author of "The Schönberg-Cotta Family."—**THE SONG WITHOUT WORDS.** Leaves from a very Old Book. Dedicated to Children. By the Same. M. W. Dodd, New York.

**EVA: A Goblin Romance.** By John Savage. James B. Kirker, New York.

**OBSCURE DISEASES OF THE BRAIN AND MIND.** By Forbes Winslow, M.D., D.C.L. Second American from the Third and Revised English Edition. Henry C. Lea, Philadelphia.

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## Fine Arts.

### AMERICAN PICTURES ON EXHIBITION.

THERE are many valuable European pictures now on exhibition in New York, and we hope to find, before long, time and space to discuss them. During this reign of the French and Belgian painters the American artists are not very demonstrative. Mr. Ward's "Indian Hunter" and his portrait bust of Dr. Dewey are still to be seen—the one at Mr. Snedecor's, the other at Mr. Schaus's gallery. There are several small pictures at "Goupil's," three by Mr. J. B. Irving, who painted "The Musical Monk," of which little picture we spoke some weeks ago. His work shows the effect of European training, and he paints with care and a certain acquired skillfulness. But there is nothing in any of his pictures which we have yet seen which demands or justifies serious criticism as of a work of art. None of his pictures are of any subject in particular or reflect the painter's interest in anything in particular. A small one now to be seen in Mr. Knoedler's gallery represents two "Wine-Tasters," gentlemen in costume of the eighteenth century, one in a blue coat and the other in a red, with the necessary accessories in the way of costume and furniture. It is skilfully painted—admitting of comparison with French and Belgian work, which the pictures of but few American painters will—and is utterly valueless and uninteresting. The picture will not be looked at; it will be glanced at, remarked upon, praised, and bought, and will find oblivion in a fashionably furnished drawing-room as a part of the fashionable furniture. There is a gleam of human interest in "What is the Matter with my Foot?" a little picture of two children. It has been removed by its purchaser. A female head, "Spring," is expressive, is probably a portrait, though not purporting to be so; is delicate and girlish, and very American, and seems to have been painted rapidly and easily, and yet effectively. Mr. Irving is certainly able to do much. His work is not "promising," only because it does not promise that he will try to do anything. The temptations in his path will be great not to try at all, or think at all, but to paint little pictures in Düsseldorf fashion, and sell them at good prices. Our hopes are not high, but it is worthy to be recorded that there is this American painter who is not unaware that the "business of a painter is to paint."

Mr. Eugene Benson has no such knowledge or belief. A picture by him is

in Mr. Knoedler's gallery, representing a young lady in the corner of a sofa, evidently the same young lady, apparently the same sofa, and nearly the same attitude as those to be seen in a picture in the Artists' Fund Exhibition, No. 134. In our notice of that exhibition we did not allude to this latter picture. Mr. Benson's contribution-picture to the Fund we mentioned as a poor landscape. These two in-door pieces are perhaps better. Perhaps Mr. Benson may yet find a subject that he can paint. As yet he has not found it. There is nothing in his painting of landscape to lead one to suppose that he has ever been in the country. There is nothing in his painting of interiors to lead one to suppose that he has ever been inside of a furnished house. His skill in drawing the figure, in rendering effects of light or in giving local color, is what would have been expected of Kaspar Häuser the day after his release from the dungeon of his childhood.

In the second room is a collection of drawings by Mr. T. C. Farrer—as a collection, and many of them singly, of unusual interest. There are twenty-two in all. Of these all are in water color but four, which are in pencil.

Water-color drawing is not a well-known or much practised art in this country. It is generally left to the more modest and painstaking students. Few of the painters who have acquired any considerable skill or any useful reputation care to practise it, and the more dashing and insolent students generally disregard it. But it is not necessary that any of the advocates of this art should plead for it. Every one knows that great things may be done in it; and successful drawings on public exhibition speak for the art better than words can.

The subjects of thirteen of the eighteen water-color drawings are small groups of fruit of the size of the reality. That sounds rather commonplace, and yet there is a certain novelty in the choice of some of the subjects. Four bananas, two yellow, one red, and one green; a great red pineapple (so red that the spectators are generally offended with it, as if red pine-apples were unheard of); two hard, red apples and an immense yellow pear; a group, of which the central personage is a great, hard, knobby, run-to-seed, orange-yellow summersquash, with red apples, butternuts, English walnuts, and one shagbark for its neighbors—all are odd enough. They are generally well chosen for the effect which the artist has sought—strength of shade and shadow and an almost deceptive projection, united with full local color. Consider, for instance, one of the most remarkable of the drawings—that one which represents an orange, a lemon, and a banana. All three fruits are in strong, full color, and all three stand out from the dark background in almost complete rotundity. There is certainly a very unusual facility shown, and the more closely one looks into the work to see how it was done, the more remarkable this skill appears. It is the result of a long course of laborious and well-directed study.

In criticizing these drawings in respect to their absolute artistic merit, we have only praise to offer. They surpass our previous experience of such things in the completeness of the success achieved. And the end which has been kept so steadily in view and so successfully reached, is not an ignoble one. It is essential, however, that we should point out this fact, that on this system of work landscapes cannot be painted, nor extensive and complicated subjects. Full color and projection are not to be had together in all pictures, but only in simple, feebly-lighted, in-door subjects. People who look at these drawings are quick to say that the manner is Rembrandtesque. So, indeed, it is, though recognizing local color more frankly than most of Rembrandt's work. Well, landscapes are not rightly to be painted in Rembrandt's manner, nor open air or daylight scenes of any kind; but best a head with plumed hat and jewelled aigret, or gleaming gold and glass.

In Mr. Farrer's drawing of an orange the whole fruit is darker than in nature, but the proportions of light and darkness and the relations of light to darkness are, doubtless, those of nature. The brightest light on a real orange will generally be inimitable with paint on paper. The artist, in the instance before us, has matched the color of the brightest part of the orange, his imitation being then, of necessity, lower in tone. Now, if he wants the orange to be round, he must make his darkest shade as much darker than the natural darkest shade as his high light is darker than the natural high light.\* If the subject goes down to very dark shades, indeed, his work is lost in blackness long before nature is. This will not be so bad as long as our subject is simple and lighted by the feeble light of in-doors. But, obviously, landscape subjects defy such sort of work, and landscape pictures painted after this manner would be unduly tenebrous. In fact, something of the manner which has succeeded here has been tried in the picture of "Northampton," at the Artists' Fund Exhibition, and seems to be one of the two principal causes of the comparative failure of that picture as a work of art.

\* Even then it will not project quite as much as the reality; we see the orange with two eyes and see around it, not around the painted image.



The backgrounds are happily chosen. The fruit in the drawings of the great master of this kind of subject, William Hunt, is generally laid on the ground, with a bit of moss or grass for background. There is something incongruous in the juxtaposition by a bank-side of a pear and a bunch of grapes, or an apple, three plums, and a handful of nuts. But the same group on a plate or table-cloth is comprehensible and looks real.

Probably the most admirable drawing of the collection, considering difficulty of subject, success in treating it, and beauty of result, is that of the purple and yellow plums. If any beholder should urge (as we think no one should) as a positive objection against these drawings that something is sacrificed to get projection, he will find this of the plums scarcely open to that objection. It is, moreover, very lovely in color. But some of the darkest and most lowered in tone are almost equally excellent. The round picture of two hard red apples and a yellow pear is an admirable instance of work well bestowed. Every stroke tells. The four bananas and the strawberries are faultless.

The inevitable tendency of this sort of work is shown by the little drawing of three eggs. Each egg is rounded with great subtlety of gradation into its complete form. But, in doing this, the painter has been compelled to lower the tone of the whole, and they are not white eggs that we have. That they were meant to be, the high light seems to show. But white or colored, the shaded side of an egg in daylight is not, by many degrees, as dark as the shaded side of one of these.

The drawing of the white lily plant is not wholly successful, nor free from what seem grave faults of color. The dead blue-jays are beautiful.

That is a good thought of the gilded mats or *parse-partouts* that hold the drawings of the plums, the strawberries, and the lily. Mr. Knoedler's assistant says that they do not cost as much as the *parse-partouts* of white paper. There was a silver mat within a gold frame, holding a drawing by Miss Siddal (now Mrs. Rossetti), in the first English Exhibition of 1858.

### MUSIC.

#### MUSICAL TALK.

CONSIDERABLE discussion has been excited lately in England by the election of a professor of music in the Edinburgh University. Endowments of this kind are rare, and few professorships have so large an income. Some thirty years ago General Reid, an amateur flute-player and an ardent lover of music, died at Edinburgh, and, by his will, left about £52,000 as an endowment for this professorship. The present income of the chair is about £1,000, and there is also provision made for an annual grand concert, the conducting of which is one of the duties of the professor. Few other chairs are so well cushioned, and the musical professors of most universities have an exceedingly scanty income, or none at all. This was one of the few prizes in the musicians' lottery, and afforded a fine, easy place for one who was willing to endure the dulness of Edinburgh, with occasional opportunities of getting away, and with plenty of leisure for the production of great works. Several good musicians offered themselves as candidates, among others Mr. Macfarren and Mr. Hullah. The blindness of the former was a disqualification, but Mr. Hullah's great services in the cause of popular music, his fine lectures on its history, and his excellence as a music director, demanded public recognition and gratitude in some way, and he was accordingly quite prominent on the list.

But only a few days before the election a new candidate came forward in the person of Mr. Herbert S. Oakeley, B.A., of Christ Church, Oxford, younger son to a baronet, cousin to a ducal family, an ardent amateur of music, a player on the organ, and a writer of intelligent musical criticisms for a weekly paper. For him the majority of the "University Court" voted, and he was consequently elected, simply because he was a "gentleman by birth and education," and not because he was a proficient in the art he now attempts to profess. No doubt it was much more pleasing to Sir David Brewster, Dr. Wood, and Dr. John Brown, and the rest, who know nothing of music, to have a gentleman as professor whom they would like to meet at dinner, than to select one on account of talent alone. But it was hardly fair to the musicians, or to the university, or to the rest of the world. The university ought to have a teacher who is more than an amateur; the musicians ought to have some claim on the few good places that are reserved for them, and the objection that they are not gentlemen should not be raised when they are applying for a professional position, when society has always insisted that their occupation was in its very nature low and degrading; and the world might demand that Edinburgh should recognize genius in the way in which great continental bodies are very glad to do. But the matter is decided, at least for the present, that the chief qualification for an Edinburgh professor is to have a "good social status," and to be "a thorough gentleman in all respects." We quote from the testimonials.

It is not claimed by any one that Mr. Oakeley is a master of his art; that he knows how to write for an orchestra, or to conduct a band, which is one of his duties. It is as though a man should be elected professor of Sanscrit because he, besides being a gentleman, liked the language and knew how to write its alphabet.

We only add that since his election the musical professor has left England for some months to resume his duties as a travelling tutor on the Continent. Comment is needless on this discreditable fact.

—From the *Journal of the Society of Arts* we obtain some information with regard to the Conservatoire Impériale de Musique et de Déclamation of Paris. Auber is the director, the secretary is Alfred de Beauchesne, the librarian Hector Berlioz, and the director of the school is Duvernoy. There are 36 professors. The pupils number about 600, all of whom are outsiders except twelve young men in the vocal class, who are lodged, clothed, and fed in the building. The same number of female pupils receive a compensation of 800 francs a year for two years, in lieu of board. The tuition is free. All the in-door pupils and *pensionnaires* are bound to appear, if required, at any of the operas or theatres receiving a subvention from the government, and no pupil in the schools is permitted to appear in public without the special authority of the direction. Candidates for admission are required to apply in person, and must be between the ages of nine and twenty-two. Foreigners may be admitted by authorization of the Minister of State.

There are five provincial schools—at Lille, Toulouse, Marseilles, Metz, and Nantes—which have the title of *succursales* of the Conservatoire. That of Toulouse exerts a very powerful influence.

The education is divided into eight sections: 1. Sol fa, scales, and oral harmony. 2. Singing. 3. Lyrical declamation. 4. Piano and harp. 5. Stringed instruments. 6. Wind instruments. 7. Thorough-bass, organ, and composition. 8. Dramatic declamation. There are also courses of popular singing for adults, superior to those in the common schools. There is a fine library of music, and of works relating to music and the drama, and this is open not only to the pupils, but also to the public. There is also a good collection of musical instruments, to which the public are admitted on certain days. The Conservatoire contains a complete theatre, a concert-room, and class rooms, besides the offices, libraries, and apartments for pupils. The annual competitions take place in July, and last about twelve days. They are nearly all public, and are held in the theatre. As the theatre holds only 900 persons, on the occasions of the competition in opera, tragedy, and comedy the demand for places is very great. The prizes are awarded by a jury of nine members, who decide on each class before the next one is heard. The prizes are either instruments, books of music, or medals, besides diplomas in all cases. The awards this year amounted to 36 first prizes, 38 second prizes, 7 third prizes, and 81 accessits, in addition to 56 medals given to the pupils in Sol fa. Two of the prize-holders were immediately engaged by the director of the opera, and lately appeared with success, Mlle. Mauduit as *Alice* in "Robert," and Mlle. Bloch as *Azucena* in "Trovatore."

The Conservatoire is not the only musical institution in France supported by the State. The communal schools in Paris all teach music, and there are, besides, the Ecole de la Musique Religieuse and several other schools.

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
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## FINANCIAL REVIEW.

NATION OFFICE, Saturday Evening,  
Dec. 23, 1865.

With the approach of the holidays, business of all kinds naturally falls off, with the single exception of those branches which are connected with the season. The importations for the week are again heavy, \$6,463,000 in gold; the exports are rather larger than usual, in consequence of some liberal shipments of cotton, which, at present prices, produce a large amount of exchange. For the month of October the importations at this port were over \$23,000,000, against \$10,000,000 same month last year, and nearly \$17,000,000 same month of 1863; the exports were also \$23,000,000—which is not much over the average for the season—but the latter, it will be remembered, are counted in paper, and only pay for about \$16,000,000 of imports. In importing circles a large spring business is expected, and, unless the Treasury Department succeed in compelling the banks to curtail their discounts, it will doubtless be a profitable one. All sections of the country, except parts of the South, are prepared to consume large quantities of goods at high prices, so long as the pending bank expansion lasts. During the winter season it will not be safe to look for any material increase in our exports, unless the price of cotton should advance in England; but with the spring renewed specie exports on a large scale and considerable shipments of provisions and breadstuffs may be expected.

Congress, on the motion of Mr. Alley, of Massachusetts, passed almost unanimously, on the 18th, a resolution "cordially concurring with the Secretary of the Treasury in relation to the necessity of the contraction of the currency," and "pledging co-operative action to that end as speedily as possible." Parties interested in national banks have clung to the hope that Congress would resist contraction, in view of the widespread mischief which a steadfast pursuance of that policy might involve. It is now apparent that such hopes are delusive. Now, as heretofore during the past four years, Congress will act in strict accordance with the wishes of the Treasury Department. So far as legislative action and Executive effort can go, contraction is certain; were it not that the laws of finance are superior to Congressional enactments and Department regulations, it might be safely predicted that the paper money of the country would soon be reduced to a moderate volume. Neither Congress nor the Secretary, however, can effect sales of bonds above their market price, or cancel paper money so long as every dollar received is required for the payment of public debts. Contraction is thus adopted on all sides as the true policy for the Government, but its practical application is postponed to a convenient opportunity. This was the gist of the remarks of the Secretary of the Treasury to the financial people who called upon him on his visit to this city yesterday. Within a few weeks a new "proposal, for funding" will probably be issued, with a view to extinguish fifty millions more of interest-bearing legal tenders and debt certificates. And before many months elapse, a new loan—probably 5-20 bonds—to the extent of \$150,000,000, may possibly be placed on the market to supply the remaining deficit in the budget of the current fiscal year, and to diminish the volume of temporary deposits. Until these loans have been placed, it will hardly be the policy of the Department to create disturbance in the money market.

Money has remained easy all the week. Call loans range from 6 to 7 per cent. Mercantile paper sells at 7 to 10 per cent. for prime names. At this season of the year money flows to the city from the country. There are many who expect a 4 to 5 per cent. money market in February. This, however, will depend on the policy of the Treasury Department. A considerable curtailment of compound legal tenders would lead to a scramble for greenbacks and to high rates for money.

Both gold and exchange have been inactive throughout the week. The former has fluctuated between 145 and 146½; the latter between 109½ and 109¾ for bankers' signatures. There is little or no speculation going on in gold; the only excitement left to the Gold Room is occasioned by the sales of Government, which swell the Sub-Treasurer's apparent balance without reducing the premium on specie.

	Dec. 16.	Dec. 23.	Advance.	Decline.
United States Sixes of 1861	107½	107½	....	¾
5-20 Bonds, old	103½	103½	....	¾
5-20 Bonds of 1863	100	100½	½	....
10-40 Bonds	91½	92½	¾	....
7-30 Notes, second series	97½	96	¾	....
New York Central	96½	96½	....	¾



	Dec. 16.	Dec. 23.	Advance.	Decline.
Erie Railway .....	93 $\frac{1}{2}$	95 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	....
Hudson River .....	109 $\frac{1}{2}$	108 $\frac{1}{2}$	....	1
Reading Railroad .....	107 ex d.	107 $\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	....
Michigan Southern .....	75 $\frac{1}{2}$	74 $\frac{1}{2}$	....	1
Cleveland and Pittsburg .....	92 $\frac{1}{2}$ ex d.	84 $\frac{1}{2}$	....	8 $\frac{1}{2}$
Chicago and North-Western .....	36 $\frac{1}{2}$	35 $\frac{1}{2}$	....	1
" " Preferred .....	62 $\frac{1}{2}$	61 $\frac{1}{2}$	....	1
Chicago and Rock Island .....	108	107	....	1
P., Fort Wayne and Chicago .....	105 $\frac{1}{2}$	105 $\frac{1}{2}$	....	$\frac{1}{2}$
Canton .....	45 $\frac{1}{2}$	45 $\frac{1}{2}$	....	....
Cumberland .....	44 $\frac{1}{2}$	44 $\frac{1}{2}$	....	$\frac{1}{2}$
Mariposa .....	15 $\frac{1}{2}$	14 $\frac{1}{2}$	....	$\frac{1}{2}$
American Gold .....	145 $\frac{1}{2}$	145 $\frac{1}{2}$	....	$\frac{1}{2}$
Bankers' Bills on London .....	109 $\frac{1}{2}$	108 $\frac{1}{2}$	....	$\frac{1}{2}$
Call Loans .....	7	7	....	....

The week has been an active one in the stock market, with several well-marked features. Of these the chief was a "corner" in Erie. Of this stock a young house, closely connected with a leading director of the Erie Railway Company, has been for some time accumulating a large quantity. On Wednesday last the ball was opened by a recall of all the stock lent out by this house, and by a general refusal to lend any more. The consequence was a general scramble for stock, at the height of which, on Thursday, as much as  $\frac{1}{2}$  and  $\frac{1}{2}$  of 1 per cent. was paid for the use of stock for a single day. For some years Erie has been the favorite stock of Wall Street operators; it is bought and sold in larger quantities than all the other stocks put together. When the temper of the Street is bearish, twice the entire capital stock of the Erie will be sold "short" in three or four days. Taking advantage of this inveterate tendency of the bears of the Stock Exchange, the house in question—which is said to have owned on Thursday evening 65,000 out of the 90,000 shares of Erie in this market—forced up the price to 97 per cent., and inflicted severe losses on "the Street." On Friday, the "corner" was relaxed. Some 8,000 to 10,000 shares were sold, and deliveries were made without much difficulty. The market to-day has been feverish and fluctuating, but there has been no such scarcity of stock as there was on Thursday. The clique bought largely this morning, and many look for a further advance on Tuesday in consequence. The Pittsburg "corner" collapsed last week, the stock selling down at one time to 83 $\frac{1}{2}$ ; it improved  $\frac{1}{2}$  to 1 per cent. to-day. The rest of the market has been without material change. Parties are pretty evenly divided between bulls and bears on the Stock Exchange. The former expect inflation to grow out of the continued issue of national bank paper. The latter are confident that McCulloch's policy of contraction will sooner or later involve a general shrinkage in prices.

Among the minor events of the day may be noted the progress of a struggle between the two associations of brokers, the New York Stock Exchange and the Open Board of Brokers. For a year or more the two bodies have worked in harmony; the sessions of the one were at different hours from the sessions of the other; orders from members of the Stock Exchange were executed at the Open Board, and *vice versa*. On entering their new building, the members of the New York Stock Exchange inaugurated a new policy. They appointed sessions at the hours fixed for the sessions of the Open Board. They threw open their board room to the public; and they passed resolutions declaring that any member who sent orders to be executed at the Open Board should be expelled. To these measures of hostility the Open Board has made no reply. Judging from the printed lists of sales, the new policy has made but little difference in the volume of business transacted at the two boards. Among the brokers there appear to be three parties. There is a party, and apparently a controlling one, in the New York Stock Exchange which purposes to crush out the Open Board. There is a party in the Open Board which is bent on maintaining the existence of that institution as it stands, without regard to the Stock Exchange. And there is a third party, comprising members of both boards, which would like to see a compromise effected by which all responsible stock-brokers should be brought together under one roof, into one market, with a view to the transaction of business on business principles, without needless restrictions or embarrassments. It is difficult to say which of these three parties will prevail. At present, dealers in stocks labor under difficulties. The price of leading stocks often varies  $\frac{1}{2}$  a  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. between the two boards at the same moment; operators cannot tell to which board their orders should be sent, and brokers experience the mortification of discovering that at the time they were buying Erie at 95 $\frac{1}{2}$  in the Stock Exchange, it was offered at 95 in the Open Board; or that while they were selling Pittsburg at 85 in the Open Board, 85 $\frac{1}{2}$  was bid in the building above.

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1st.—HENRY CHAUNCEY, Captain Gray, connecting  
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11th.—ATLANTIC, Captain Maury, connecting with  
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21st.—NEW YORK, Captain Horner, connecting with  
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and for the purpose of paying their respects to the Gov-  
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